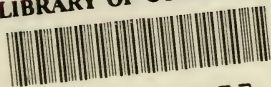


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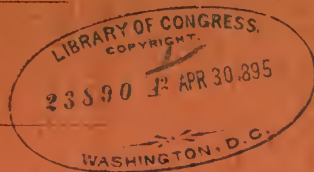
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HOMES FOR THE HOMELESS



~~An Argument in favor of a Non-Taxable
Homestead~~

A Restatement of the Social Question

—By—

JOHN R. ROGERS

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29
—By—

JOHN R. ^{Rankin} ROGERS

Seattle, Wash.
THE ALLEN PRINTING CO.
1895.

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By JOHN R. ROGERS
Puyallup, Washington.

TO MY READERS:

[In the rather hastily written chapters which follow, many imperfections will no doubt be seen; the purpose which runs through them all will, I hope, be as readily found.

The Declaration of Independence which all good Americans believe rests upon a solid foundation of truth, asserts that all men possess certain natural rights derived from the Creator. These rights are not there fully and explicitly stated. They are, in all their fullness, only hinted at. But to all it must be clear that if man possesses a right to life he must also have a right to whatever nature, or the Creator, has provided which is absolutely essential to the preservation of that life. In no case must he be dependent upon fellow mortals for the free gift of God. Otherwise his right to life is gradually destroyed by the persistent inhumanity of man to man.

The earth in a state of nature is the provision of God against the wants of man. Where not prevented by the laws of men from applying his labor to this free gift of the Creator, man cannot be utterly crushed and absolute want becomes impossible.

This, then is the cause of the miserable and frightful poverty which ever attends our so-called civilization. The rich and the powerful withhold from struggling humanity a natural right.

Think, my brother, one moment clearly and candidly for yourself. Do you imagine for an instant that men may be deprived of that which the Creator has intended for freemen and that they may still retain ~~that~~ freedom? Was that grand declaration of our fathers mere idle bombast? Have men no natural rights? Were they placed upon this rolling ball to become the mere serfs and tools of their more crafty brothers? These are questions which in God's name I bid you answer.

THE AUTHOR.

Seattle, Wash,
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HOMES FOR THE HOMELESS.

—BY—

JOHN R. ROGERS

CHAPTER I.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN.

In his day ~~the great~~ Daniel Webster was regarded in New England with the greatest pride and reverence. No one had the slightest doubt as to who was meant when the village editor referred—as he often did—to “the god-like Dan.” He was a man of great mental force and power joined to magnificent physical proportions. His “presence” was commanding and his words, at times, seemed little short of inspiration. As was the case with most New Englanders of his time he was deeply tinctured with strong religious feeling, notwithstanding the fact that in his later years he was known to be a heavy drinker when in the company of boon companions. Once, when surrounded by convivialists at a banquet some one suddenly asked him: “Mr. Webster, what was your greatest thought?” Although, at the time, partially intoxicated the gravity of the question seemed to sober him for the moment and steadying himself by grasping the table with both hands he said, in his most impressive manner: “My greatest thought was, and is, a fact; the fact of my individual responsibility to

God.” According to the story, told at the time, this weighty thought so impressed the company that they shortly separated, going at once to their homes.

Fifty years ago, among men of Puritanic training this was, from their standpoint, an exceedingly weighty utterance, but times change and men with them. It is true that there are in the world at any time but few men of Webster's calibre and but few who could dispute a point with him, still, if we are to have independent and self governing minds we must all think and decide for ourselves each and every matter presented to us for decision. “Even a cat may look at a king.” And every man worthy the name of man must be his own man and not the mere weak copy of another. So, without attempting to equal the sententious utterance of a Webster I must dissent. To me his thought appears quite a secondary one; nor can I escape the conclusion that, ~~for~~ ^{point} this as a chief and engrossing thought, when considered in connection with the vast misery of millions of suffering and sorrowing brothers and sis-

ters who surround me in this "vale of tears," is selfish and cowardly in the extreme. Surrounded, as we are in this the only world of which we know any thing, and which forms the sole field of action for us, to centre all our thought upon ourselves is to play the coward and refuse the duties now pressing upon our consideration. What is thought of the seamen who upon the appearance of "rough weather" abandon the passengers committed to their care, betaking themselves to the life boat and apparent security? Is it not plain that "the eternal fitness of things," under such circumstances, can only be propitiated by the loss and death of the deserters? And if we go for instruction in this matter to the "book of books," to that volume from which the Christian draws his inspiration, we find that the first lesson there taught regarding human conduct relating to the duty of man to man states and emphasizes the fact that we are our brother's keepers. Now, today, the voice of Deity is heard in the heart of every true man: "Where is thy brother?" And when this has been duly considered it is followed by: "Thy brothers' blood crieth to me from the ground." Questions here arise which must be answered and he who weakly refuses to entertain them, flying from their consideration to thoughts of his own personal safety is best answered by Jesus who tells him that he who would thus save his life shall assuredly lose it. Nor can we forget that His was a life of self sacrifice for the good of others and that, as St. Paul tells us, "He was an ensample unto us."

To me the most tremendous thought of the time is not of my own personal welfare but the vast misery of my fellows. Look for a moment at the uncared for thousands in any great city! What a commentary upon our boasted civilization! Christian it is not. For here the simplest rules and precepts of that faith are set at naught. Think of

the helpless children of "the slums." Conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, how can they know any good thing? Surrounded by vice and crime how can they be virtuous? And will you hold them responsible for their own degradation? Is it not plain as things are with them that they are deprived of a fair chance in life, that liberty and the rational pursuit of happiness is impossible to them?

Talk of the savagery and cannibalism of the past, men are really and in truth cannibals today—they live upon their fellows—and if removed from the sufferings of their victims, so that their eyes do not immediately behold them, they live in peace and die in luxury without a thought of the awful suffering entailed by their indirect acts. Look for yourself, in any town, upon the prisoners of poverty. Or, read the papers. A few instances must suffice. In the New York Sun I read the following:

"Lillie Smith of Brooklyn, aged twenty years, after having spent her strength combatting poverty from the time she was old enough to know what want was, wrote the following and then swallowed a fatal dose of poison:"

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

I am tired of poverty. I have tried hard to keep up my courage but it has failed at last. I am alone in the world, there is no one to love me and I have nothing to live for. I am tired of being poor and have taken poison. May God forgive my soul.

Poor Lilly, rest in peace, but upon whomsoever this stone shall fall it will grind him to powder. I know nothing of this poor child's history, but remember that Victor Hugo has told us of the child harlots who begin at eight and end at twenty as old women. Who can measure the depths of human wretchedness?

Another case from the same paper: "Ann Fullman, a widow with two young children, lives at 618 East Ninth street, in two rooms at the rear. It takes all

her time to finish pantaloons at 13 cents a pair. She used to go out scrubbing but her health gave out and now she sits all day at the window of her room imbibing concentrated diseases from a combination of bad smells from the court yard and bad light taken externally and starvation taken internally. She is no worse off than hundreds of neighbors in the same vicinity who finish pantaloons or do similar work for a living, or for a death bed—for none of them can make enough to live on. She says she can make about two dollars a week.

One more: At 529 East Fourteenth street, on the second floor of the rear tenement, reached through a dark hallway and lane, dirty and deformed children, Kate Crowley lives, a widow for nine years past. She finishes men's drawers at ten cents a dozen pair. She begins work at 6 o'clock in the morning and sometimes manages to finish two dozen before dark.

Here is neither life, liberty, nor the pursuit of happiness. Poor Kate Crowley has neither the one nor the other. And yet our Declaration of Independence says that she possesses an inalienable right to these blessings. That is, a right which cannot be taken away. But it has been taken from her, and 20,000 sewing women besides, in New York alone—to say nothing of the millions of people who though not yet in so bad a case are rapidly approaching her condition. These people have not voluntarily surrendered their rights. They have been taken from them by the exactions and impositions of others.

Thomas Carlyle, one of the deepest thinkers of our time, says of modern commercial life: "Each grasps what he can, and in this hell-scramble because no steel knives be used, he calls it Peace, because far cunninger implements be used." Again he says: "There must be something wrong; a full formed horse is worth \$200 to the world—a man

nothing. Society could afford to pay if he would engage to hang himself."

But enough of this. Whence come these unnatural conditions, these unnatural sorrows, these unnatural crimes? Pour, if you will, over the dusty tomes of the past. Search out the history of the dead nations of antiquity; of Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome and in all the cause of death is found the same. The hardy yeomanry, upon which strong nations, and living peoples must rest and depend, were deprived by the machinations of the money changers of their hold upon the soil. Their little homes were gradually taken from them by the slow operation of causes which they could not comprehend, or comprehending, thought to be just because established in custom and by law. Losing their foot hold upon the earth they flocked to the cities or roamed at large, gathering rags and misery and desperation as they went. History, they say, repeats itself. Our "Commonweal armies had their prototypes in ancient Rome. Men then banded themselves together precisely as the homeless and unemployed have done and will do to the end. Wealthy Romans surrounded themselves with private guards just as wealthy Americans are beginning to do. (And all because the people were despoiled of their homes by the mortgage "industry," and the increased value and scarcity of money, then as now under the complete control of the money changers.) While the Romans possessed their little farms they were more than a match for a world in arms. Deprived of these they sank to rise no more.

Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen, who survey
The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay—
'Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand
Between a plundered and a happy land.
Proud swells the tide with loads of freighted ore,
And shouting folly hails them from her shore:
Hoards even beyond the miser's wish abound,
And rich men flock from all the world around:
Yet count our gains: this wealth is but a name
That leaves our useful products still the same.

Not so the loss. The man of wealth and pride
 Takes up a space that many poor supplied.
 Space for his lake his park's extended bounds,
 Space for his horse, his equipage and his hounds;
 The robe that wraps his limbs in silken sloth
 Has robb'd the neighboring hills of half their
 growth.

—OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

We are travelling the same direful road that other peoples have trod. The graveyard of nations is even now in view. Five years ago—in 1889—Senator Ingalls wrote the following in the "Forum" magazine: "By the close of the present century, and perhaps earlier, our surplus population, no longer having the fertile area of free land over which to diffuse itself, will accumulate in cities. The rich will grow richer and the poor poorer. The middle class will gradually disappear as the struggle for existence becomes fierce and relentless. A dim consciousness of impending peril has already penetrated the public mind. And the hour is approaching when the active coalition of the conservative forces

of the country will be necessary to prevent destructive organic changes in our social and political system."

Aye, the hour is approaching, the middle class is disappearing and the active coalition of monopolists into one party is now in progress. They will combine to prevent justice and to defeat right. But no thought of restoring to the defrauded and suffering people the birth right of which they have been robbed enters their minds. Steam begins to escape from the great national safety valve and when it is whispered that an explosion may come these foolish monopolists talk only of weighting down the valve with an increase in the army—then the boiler cannot burst!

"You may build," said Wendell Phillips, "your tower of granite; rear it to the skies if you will, but if founded upon injustice the pulse of a girl will in time shake it down."

CHAPTER II.

THE LAMP OF THE PAST.

The now generally received doctrine of the brotherhood of man necessitates, and proves, a common origin and fatherhood—the fatherhood of God or the great First Cause. And this is clearly seen when we examine the records of the past with relation to man's personal or psychological history. Look, for instance, at the phenomena presented to us by the life and history of such a man as Abraham Lincoln. The child of parents quite low in the intellectual scale; his ancestry the common heritage of "the poor whites" of Kentucky; surrounded during all the days of his youth

by people and influences above whom and which he rose superior and pre-eminent, against all the rules of heredity and environment. God was his father, and the grand spirit of Lincoln, sullied somewhat, no doubt, by earthly and fleshly entanglements, was a gift of the Great Spirit to his time and to his race. And so it has been in the course of all the eventful past. We see men constantly rising from the lowest and most forbidding surroundings to the highest places in the estimation of men. Nor has the mental capacity of man increased by the smallest accretion since the dawn

of recorded history. The philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome, in the pure domain of intellect, are still unexcelled and unapproached. Man is the same creature, swayed by the same hopes and fears, moved by the same impulses, loves and hates as when he first meets our gaze upon the pages of the past. "There is under the sun no new thing," said Solomon. And again, he tells us that "the thing that hath been shall be." And this is seen to be true when we consider the origin and destiny of man. As men have done in the past, so, under like circumstances, will they do in the future. This is human experience, and the foundation of all our knowledge regarding man.

Those who, heeding the lessons of the past take a somewhat somber view of the future are usually denounced as destructionists, if they speak or publish, by the unthinking, and by those who for the time receive temporary, personal or pecuniary advantage from present conditions which bear hardly upon the majority of men. But is it not the part of wisdom for even those possessed of special privilege, to examine carefully into the grounds of the present deep-seated unrest which has taken possession of the public mind? It is idle to say that this is the work of "agitators." Prosperous and happy men cannot be made dissatisfied, except in few and unimportant instances. But a sense of injustice, coming from what Blackstone calls "the natural and instinctive apprehension of justice having universal lodgment in the heart of man," will cause it, and ought to do so. And this "instinctive apprehension of justice," which Blackstone again tells us is "the foundation of all valid law," manifestly comes from that other instinctive apprehension of self evident truth: "that all men are created equal," by a common Father.

Created equal they have equal rights. Dissatisfaction and unrest come from the practical denial of equal rights and

the bestowal of special privileges upon the possessors of wealth. This is the origin of unrest, and it comes from the desire for freedom and advancement implanted in the heart of man by the great All Father. These foolish accusers do the "agitators" too much honor. God and nature cause unrest. Can they fight against these opponents?

The association of men together for mutual protection and benefit upon a large scale—the rise, progress and fall of nations—has proceeded in all ages upon practically the same general lines. First, a rude and hardy people possessed of little wealth, have joined themselves together for mutual protection and advantage. Grown stronger they have become aggressive, and by conquest have become imbued with the ideas connected with military power and glory. Possessed of power over others—the power to absorb the fruits of labor—wealth follows, inevitably connected with deprivation, vice and crime, which when finished bring national decay and death. Men then fall back to savagery, and the round is made from primitive conditions, through the ascending and descending stages of civilization, back to barbarism again. All the nations of antiquity ran this course. The poet Byron thus tells the universal tale:

This is the sequel to all human tales,
'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
First freedom, and then glory; when this fails
Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last,
And history with all her volumes vast hath but
one page.

In our own country we see that in the comparatively short space of a little more than a hundred years we have gone through all these different stages except the last, and even this to the careful and thoughtful student appears by no means impossible. Are the nations of today to prove exceptions to the universal rule of the past? And why should we believe it?

In all probability no man in all the world is more thoroughly informed re-

garding the history of past attempts to associate and govern the human race than William Ewert Gladstone, late prime minister of England. A thoroughly educated classical scholar, familiar with the modern and the "dead" languages, daily pursuing critical and exhaustive studies, and at the same time occupying the highest places in the English government, he has for more than fifty years been a student, devoting himself largely to problems of government. In an interview published a few years ago, this, perhaps the most eminent living man, gave utterance to the guarded opinion that we in this age of the world have reached the highest state of which men of today are capable. He believed that we are incapable of further material advancement, and that the race must once more begin a return to primitive conditions. Of course he did not think that men are at once to return to barbarism, but simply that the time of retrogression and national decay had come, or shortly would appear. He founded this opinion upon the teachings of history, and also upon the known law pervading the whole vast universe of God, in which every created thing has its time of creation or beginning, its time of growth its time of maturity and fruition, and its time of decay and death. To this law of nature there has never existed any exception.

To such an opinion as this men must give heed. It will not do for pompous and prosperous ignorance to call this the dream of a crack-brained philosopher or the utterances of a pessimist. These are the words of soberness and truth, and deserving of the most serious and careful consideration.

The one destructive agent always present in the decay and death of nations, has been the fact everywhere observed, of the loss on the part of the common people of their little farms and homes. Indeed, this has been the principal cause; this sent them roaming

abroad; this crowded them into the cities, those plague spots of so-called civilization; this destroyed former independence, making them dependent upon the will of a master. This begat inequality, a consequent sense of injustice, and finally overthrew the state.

In the oldest book of which we have any knowledge we see that Moses, who was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and who was doubtless familiar with mortgage, foreclosure and eviction in that land—then of vast antiquity,—from whence he came, provided against the evils of land monopoly by suitable regulations, and by the institution of the "year of jubilee." So long as these laws were obeyed there was no poverty among the Jews. The "Old Testament" has been quite truthfully described as a work on land tenure, so clearly have the sacred writers seen that man's temporal welfare and happiness are bound up in his possession of a sufficient portion of the earth's surface for self support. And it may be shortly stated that if the laws of Moses relating to land were put in force in the United States that poverty here would likewise be impossible. But there came a time when these laws were not enforced, and when gold was permitted, as now, to rule over and enslave human souls.

The following from the fifth chapter of Nehemiah will prove that four hundred and fifty years before Christ people were despoiled of their homes just as they are today. Making due allowance for the different forms of language used it is a perfect copy of the doings of today, save and except the "restitution" requiring nothing of them—repudiation—compelled by the ruler Nehemiah. Alas! we have no Nehemiah today. It will be noted that one per cent, or the hundredth part, was usury then:

1. And there was a great cry of the people and their wives against their brethren the Jews,
2. For there were that said, we, our sons and our daughters are many, therefore we take up corn for them that we may eat and live

3. Some also there were that said, we have mortgaged our lands, vineyards and houses that we might buy corn because of the dearth.

4. There were also that said, we have borrowed money for the King's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards.

5. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children; and lo we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already, neither is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and vineyards.

6. And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words.

7. Then I consulted with myself and I rebuked the nobles and the rulers and I said unto them. Ye exact usury every one of his brother. And I set a great assembly against them.

8. And I said unto them: We after our ability have redeemed our brethren the Jews which were sold unto the heathen; and will ye even sell your brethren? Or shall they be sold with us? Then held they their peace and found nothing to answer.

9. Also, I said it is not good, that ye do. Ought ye not to walk in the fear of our God, because of the reproach of the heathen our enemies.

10. I likewise, and my brethren and my servants, might exact of them money and corn; I pray you let us leave off this usury.

11. Restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their olive yards and their houses, also the hundredth part

of their money and of the corn, the wine and the oil that ye exact of them.

12. Then said they, we will restore them, and will require nothing of them, so will we do as thou sayest. Then I called the priests and took an oath of them that they should do according to this promise.

13. Also I shook my lap and said so God shake out every man from his house and from his labor, that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out and emptied. And all the congregation said Amen, and praised the Lord. And the people did according to this promise.

Buckle, the learned and talented author of "The History of Civilization" tells us that history proves that so long as the hearts of the people are true and sound that the future of that nation is safe, but that whenever people have become corrupted that for that nation there is no salvation except through the agonies of a revolution which must be severe enough to destroy all the offending causes.

In this land of universal suffrage the crowd upon the street represents very fairly our population and our governing force. Is it sound and true, and is our future safe?

CHAPTER III.

EARLY LAND REFORMERS.

"Whether on life's peaceful plain,
Or in the battle's van,
The only fight that's not in vain
Is when we fight for man."

One of the grandest thoughts that can come to man is the conviction, born of inmost truth, that no good deed can ever come to naught. The doer may be subjected to sorrow, suffering and the most cruel death, but the deed will live. A mental or soul force has been set in

motion which cannot die. Somehow, somewhere, it will assert itself, bringing joy and peace in its train. And even the unknown acts and unheeded words of humble souls unknown to fame still live in the lives of man made possible by the sweet influences proceeding from friendly hands and honest hearts long since mouldered into dust. Good is eternal.

In the early history of Rome each

family held as its private possession a small homestead. Each son as he came of age appears to have been assigned a portion of the common lands belonging to the particular tribe or community to which he belonged. These common lands formed the main possession of the communities, and it appears that they were, in some degree at least, cultivated in common as well as devoted to pasturage. The state also held common lands, acquired very largely by conquests from conquered neighbors. These lands were sometimes let for rent and sometimes seem to have been divided among the conquerors. In the process of time many of the homesteads became greatly and most unequally enlarged. The progress of conquest, which enlarged the territory, also added slaves, captured in battle, who complicated the problem and increased inequality. Trade, which with enlarged territory and increasing wants gradually sprang up, made many fortunes and rapidly increased the trouble. As time passed and luxury increased the large land-holder was surrounded by a household of clients, retainers and slaves who tilled his ground and performed personal service for him. Demand for free labor, as a consequence, fell off and the small cultivator, unable to favorably dispose of his surplus produce or his labor, quite naturally fell into debt. His land would then be seized under the strict Roman law of bankruptcy and he himself would sink into slavery, or, at best, into the already over crowded class of laborers for insufficient hire. At the same time the conquered lands, which in theory were the property of the state, and to which every citizen had equal right, were largely portioned out among existing land holders or the favorites of those in authority. The revenues drawn from tribute were also farmed out to capitalists and the taxes on the public were increased because of the frauds, which appear to have been winked at and permitted of the collectors. Finally, the

army, drawn from the poorer classes, mutinied and civil war was at hand. We can readily see from this—which is a simple transcript and synopsis of a portion of Roman history—that our history runs in lines exactly parallel to that of the past.

The first agrarian outbreak occurred nearly five hundred years B. C. A century later civil war was averted and the evil partially remedied by the passage of the Licinian laws which restricted ownership. Gradually, however, these fell into "inocuous desuetude" and poverty like an armed host held sway over the lives and destinies of the common people.

In the second century B. C. two boys were born who during their life time made earnest and heroic efforts for the relief of the distressed and poverty-stricken citizens. Two thousand years have passed yet no generous minded man can read today of the life and times of the Gracchi without being himself warmed into newness of life by the story of their attempt. The deeds of these reformers are even now instinct with life.

Tiberius Sempronius, and Caius Gracchus, the brothers referred to, were of noble family, themselves far removed from want. Their ancestry was eminent. Cornelia, their mother, is to this day referred to as the highest type of the noble Roman matron. She was the daughter of Publius Scipio, the renowned commander who defeated Hannibal and saved Rome from destruction at the hands of the Carthaginian invaders. Tiberius and Caius were the boys which she displayed as "her jewels" to the boasting wife of a Roman millionaire. Of noble mothers noble men are born. Tiberius was but a young man when he entered public life. Surrounded as he was by the evidences of injustice on the part of the favored classes he early took up the cause of the poor and the friendless. The Tribunes of the people were established in the

first and purer days of the Roman republic for the protection of the common people, or the plebeans, for the Roman people were divided, in the main, into two general orders or classes, the patricians or nobles and the plebeans or common people. After a time the equalization, in theory at least, of the two orders was effected and the reason for the existence of the tribunate vanished, but the office remained and Tribunes were every year elected by the plebean communities. Burning with a desire to restore the ancient rights and privileges of the Roman people Tiberius offered himself as a candidate and was elected Tribune for the year 133 B. C. and immediately proposed his measures of reform. Substantially, these were as follows: That all public lands privately occupied should revert to the state; that a commission composed of three men should determine all questions of proprietorship and should allow each occupier to retain not more than from 500 to 1,000 jugera—from 300 to 600 acres—and should distribute the rest of the recovered domain among the citizens and their allies in war; awarding homestead farms of about eighteen acres to worthy applicants. This was wise and just but the way to its enforcement was hard and bitterly fought by the aristocrats. The Roman senate, or governing body, packed with landed nobles refused to acquiesce, but Tiberius backed by the people finally prevailed. The law was passed and he was named as one of the commissioners. They encountered violent opposition from the land holders and Tiberius, whose year of office was now expiring, feared the consequences in case he should lose the protection of his official title. He seems to have been led astray by the dangers of his position and to have made high bids for popularity and re-election. The partisans of the senate postponed the election and raised the cry that Gracchus would be King. Judging Tiberius by them-

selves many believed this artful lie. Finally, a band of young lords rushed from the senate-house, struck down the Tribune with their bludgeons and killed three hundred of his followers. Here was the muttered thunder of an approaching storm. Tiberius Gracchus fell, the first martyr to the contest of the classes.

The vacancy in the land commission was, however, filled and the work went on for some years substantially as Tiberius had planned. But at every step the partisans of the land-holders interposed their power to prevent the success of the reforms. Finally, the senate tried to stop the progress of reform by dispersing the reformers. The energetic pair Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus were sent out of the country upon foreign missions of importance to Rome. But in 121 B. C. Caius Gracchus returned to take up his brother's work in Rome. He seems to have been a man of far greater genius than his brother Tiberius and his reforms looked beyond the relief of the poorer citizens to a genuine revision of the political conditions at Rome. He was elected Tribune for the year 123 and again for the following year. The legislation of this brief period is a monument to his tremendous energy. But the hate of the wealthy classes was fully aroused. The senate put up as candidate for the Tribunate, Livius Drusus, who promised the people more favors than Gracchus could offer and the foolish and fickle people deserted their friend in his time of trial, just as their kind always have done, and will to the end. In the elections for 121 B. C. Gracchus was defeated. A few friends rallied to his defense on the Aventine Hill, but his opponents, who called themselves "Optimates"—how like the present—broke down the barricades. Caius with a single slave succeeded in crossing the river Tiber, and in a grove on the farther shore their pursuers found the dead bodies of both. With the death of the

Gracchi ended all sincere efforts for reform. It is true that a generation later Caius Julius Caesar made some effort in the same direction, but it was then too late. The "great estates," which Pliny tells us destroyed Rome, were unbroken, while millions were denied the right of access to land and were thus doomed to deprivation, degradation and death. Wiser than their time, the Gracchi died, but they were indeed "jewels" of whom Cornelia, and the world, may well be proud.

"The man is thought a knave or fool, or bigot
plotting crime,
Who for the advancement of his race is wiser
than his time;

For him the hemlock shall distil,

For him the axe be bared,

For him the gibbet shall be built,

For him the stake prepared.

Him shall the wrath and scorn of men

Pursue with deadly aim,

And malice, envy, spite and lies

Shall desecrate his name,

But truth shall conquer at the last
For round and round we run,
And ever the right comes uppermost
And ever is justice done."

What a shame it is that progress has ever been only from stake to stake and from scaffold to scaffold. Read history! it is but a succession of wars. "Experience keeps a dear school but fools will learn in no other." And most people are fools in the sense that they will only learn from their own experience. Though experience were knee deep about them, if it be the experience of others, they will not heed. The truth is, however, no nation, ever was—or ever will be—strong, free, brave, contented, happy, unless the people were secure in the possession of their homes. No homes, no men; no men no nation. Free access to the soil is the source of strength. But access must be free; it must not be burdened with rent. Plenty of land to rent today.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SOURCE OF STRENGTH.

Under the operation of laws which permitted, and practically enforced, land monopoly the Roman people became demoralized. The common people were dependent, they lost courage and self reliance and gradually sank lower and lower in the social and moral scale. At the same time the wealth and luxury of the privileged few increased beyond previous example. As the fields of the wealthy grew larger and larger their power became greater and greater. Some became enormously wealthy and surrounded themselves with luxurious appointments upon a scale of magnifi-

cence and grandeur which excited the envy of all. These, of course, refused to believe in the decadence of the times, although the masses of the people were reduced to slavery or beggary. In their eyes the Gracchi were only "unprincipled adventurers" or "pestilent fellows" who richly deserved their fate. We have seen that they called themselves "Optimates." The world was well enough if you only knew how to take it. They pointed to the vast increase of Roman wealth and magnificence as a proof of advancing knowledge and power, forgetful of the fact that the

strength and happiness of a nation must be measured by adherence to the rule of the greatest good to the greatest number. One of their emperors boasted that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. The condition of the common people, however, gave him little concern. Because their wealth could hire and arm a mercenary soldiery the rich fancied themselves the masters of the world and secure in their robberies, as our masters do today. But the canker of ill-gotten wealth had eaten out the heart of Roman patriotism and courage. The Germanic tribes tiring of the constant forage of the Romans upon their country turned the tables upon them and descended upon Rome. The opposition of purchased lives proved weak and ineffectual, for the manhood of ancient Rome was gone, and it fell, at a time, too, when according to the views of its wealthy citizens it was at the very height of civilized enlightenment.

Ill fares the land,⁵ to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay,
Princes and lords may flourish or may fade
A breath can make them, as a breath has made,
But a bold yeomanry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied.

—GOLDSMITH.

Having in the previous chapter very hastily glanced at the tenure of land, and the abuses arising from it, among the Romans, let us look for a moment at the system in use among the northern people that overthrew and destroyed them.

Caius Julius Caesar was indeed "a great man;" perhaps the greatest, according to the usual standards, for he was not only an unrivalled military commander but a statesman of the greatest ability, a magnificent orator, a man of deep research and wide learning and a writer of singular power and force, and last, but not least, he is said, as military commander to have assisted in the destruction of three millions of lives. Great murderers always excite the admiration of men. Shakespeare calls him "the foremost man of all this

world," and contemporary history seems to bear out this seemingly extravagant praise. His "Commentaries" may yet be read. He says of the Germans of his time: "They are not much given to agriculture but live chiefly upon milk, cheese and flesh. No one has a fixed quantity of land, or boundaries of his property, but the magistrates and chiefs every year assign to the communities and families who live together as much land and in such spots as they think suitable and require them in the following year to remove to another allotment. Many reasons for this custom are suggested: One is that they should not be led by permanence of residence to renounce the pursuits of war for agriculture; another, that the desire of extensive possession should not induce the more powerful to seize the land of the weaker; another, that they should not construct their houses with greater care to keep out heat and cold; another, that the love of money should not create parties and disputes, and lastly that the mass of the people might remain contented with the justice of an arrangement under which every one saw his position as comfortable as that of the most powerful."

A hundred years later, but still previous to the time when they conquered Rome, Tacitus, the Roman historian, describes their mode of life and tenure of land. Some changes seem to have been made. He speaks of Germany as: "Covered with woods and morasses, the land fairly fertile, well adapted to pasturage and carrying numerous herds of small sized polled cattle in which the chief wealth of the natives consisted." But they seem no longer to have changed their actual dwellings each year but to have "built them with a certain rough solidity, and in villages, though the houses were not contiguous, but each was surrounded by a space of its own. The right of succession by children was recognized, and in default of children brothers and uncles took, but there was

no right of making a will. They preferred to acquire property by war than industry." As Tacitus was a Roman and strongly prejudiced against the people he was describing, this latter allegation may be doubted. "Interest on loans," he says, "was unknown." The land was apportioned (to villages probably) according to the number of cultivators and divided among them according to their rank, there being room enough for all. Every year they changed the arable land, which formed only a portion of the whole, not attempting to make labor vie with the natural abundance and fertility of the soil. Their food consisted, principally of wild fruits, freshly killed game and curds; their drink was liquor prepared from barley or wheat, and fermented like wine." (German beer seems to have been of ancient origin.) "Their slaves were not kept in the house but each had a separate dwelling and they were treated with humanity as servants and tenants."

When it is remembered that the accounts of both Caesar and Tacitus were written by Romans who despised the "barbarians" and who had no idea of treating the people of other nations in any other way than as slaves or subjects it will be seen that the conquerors of Rome must have been a very fair lot of people—for the time. Moderns have wasted a vast deal of sympathy on the Roman people on account of their being swept out of existence by "barbarians," who, so far as we are able to judge, were much to be preferred to the Roman thieves, who, unquestionably, having endeavored to subjugate their neighbors by means of a dissolute soldiery, were paid in their own coin in return. The accounts we have of the "incursions of the barbarians" are all from Roman sources.

Rome fell, not too soon, for it was rotten ripe long years before it succumbed to a stronger, a hardier and a more honest people. Given, two such peoples,

side by side, the one strong, free, brave, and free to apply labor to land; the other corrupted by venal and profligate wealth, having no hold upon the soil except upon sufferance from vain and purse-proud magnates and but one result could follow. Moral force is, and always has been, a mighty power in the world. When the war of the rebellion broke out one "Billy" Wilson raised a regiment from among the New York "toughs." Foolish people then said: "When Wilson's Zouaves get down South something will happen, for they are terrors." But the only thing they were ever known to "punish" was "red liquor" and as for fighting rebels they were of no value. The fighting was done, forts assaulted and the "imminent deadly breach" carried by farmer's boys who had never before been beyond the confines of their own counties and who were reared in contact with nature and in much the same manner as the ancient Germans, known to the Romans as Goths and Vandals.

These principles are not new, the Romans knew them well enough but they were led captive by unprincipled leaders just as our people are to-day. In all ages broad minded and far-seeing men have not hesitated to declare that the right of access to land in some free and independent way is absolutely necessary to the creation of strong and stable nations and men, and that in no other way can freedom and the rights of men be preserved. Thousands of years ago this was as well known and understood as it is to-day. The myths and mythology of the most ancient peoples conclusively prove it. In the mythology of Greece and Rome this truth was expressed in the fabled story of Antaeus, a giant, or renowned athlete, who was said to be the son of Neptune and Terra (sea and earth, or land and water.) He inhabited the Lybian desert (where land was free) and successfully wrestled against all comers, for whenever thrown to the ground he received fresh accession

of strength from mother earth, rising stronger than ever from his contact with the soil. Hercules, however—the crafty god of strength, a sort of deified bully—detecting the source of his strength, held him up in his arms and strangled him in the air—so ran the tale.

Doubtless the common people among the Greeks and Romans, to whom the priests told this story of the gods, believed it true and thought Antaeus a real character, but the better educated among them probably knew perfectly well that this story contained one of the greatest truths—probably the most important to man's temporal welfare—which it is possible to state. Antaeus symbolized the human race, which deprived of its hold upon the soil is quickly weakened and destroyed. The city must be constantly recruited from the country. By contact with nature only does man become strong and resourceful. The first thing for the youth to learn is above all things self-reliance. This he must have, to be a man, whatever else he may lack. For it there is no possible substitute. Without it he must have a master. He is not fit for freedom and to dependence and slavery will he naturally and certainly descend. Now, as anciently, and ever, man's health, strength and virility come from contact with the soil. Life is a struggle, a school, a test of fitness. No struggle, no school; no school, no fitness; no fitness, no future.

I find the following in a newspaper. It is as true a statement as was ever made, come from what source it may.

"David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University says, in the Popular Science Monthly, that 'the essence of tyranny lies not in the strength of the strong, but in the weakness of the weak.' The remedy for oppression is in men who cannot be oppressed. 'This was the remedy our fathers sought; we shall find no other.' 'The problem in life is not to make life easier, but to make men stronger.' 'It will be a sad day for the Republic when life is easy for ignorance, weakness and apathy.' It is by individual will, that the thousands in this

country, who complain of oppression will become free. So long as they continue in their ignorance and squalor they cannot become free under any laws. They need first to improve their minds, which can only be done by individual effort, to escape from weakness and misery and become better men, who cannot be oppressed."

Man's life upon this earth is governed by certain unchangeable laws, fixed in the decrees of Nature; men make no new ones; they only discover them. Having discovered them, if the course of their lives and their statutory enactments are in consonance therewith, happiness is the result, otherwise humanity pays the fixed and certain penalty. Statute law is like its makers, very imperfect.

Before the law was written down with parchment or with pen;

Before the law made citizens, the moral law made men.

Law stands for human rights, but when it fails those rights to give,

Then let law die, my brother, but let human beings live.

All wealth—which is the only remedy for poverty—is created by the application of human exertion to land, or its natural products. If men are denied access to land they are then unable to create wealth for themselves. If they work for others the profits of their labor are taken from them. This, in short, is the sole origin of great wealth on the one side and poverty on the other. No man accumulates large wealth unless he is enabled in some crafty way to obtain the fruits of other men's labor. If access to land is open to all, men cannot be forced to work for insufficient pay, they are then free to work for themselves. If men possess their little self-supporting homesteads, free from debt and taxation, they are then free, strong, brave and inclined to make much of their independence when in the presence of those who may try to impose upon them. No tyranny like that of the land "owner." He has greater power over those who attempt to use

"his land" than has an emperor over his subjects. Hence the present attempt, by means of "the mortgage industry," which will surely succeed, to deprive the common people of this country of their homes. Then man can be "managed." If you want to get "the dead cinch" on a man you buy his land from under him. Then he is done. The only way left for him to "get even" with you is for him to get his gun and kill you and then kill himself. Remember, I do not advise such a course, I oppose it, but it is the only way in which he can at once get even with you. Any other way requires time. The plan has this defect, however—you are both dead.

CHAPTER V.

EVOLUTION OF A GREAT CRIME.

Land-holding began when men first gathered in tribes or clans. Each tribe held some sort of sway over a general region, more or less distinctly defined. Within these limits each individual belonging to the tribe held, substantially, the same right. The authority of the leader or chief, in time of peace, was usually merely nominal; he might or he might not possess a greater amount of personal property than the average clansman, but to the land over which the tribe hunted and trapped he had no greater claim than any other member. Men then lived principally by the chase, they dressed in skins and their food consisted of flesh, wild fruits, nuts and the natural productions of the soil. This condition of things we see perpetuated in the habits of the North American Indians to this day. History and tradition take us back to a time when nearly all of Europe was thus held by a sparse population of wild and fierce men. The next stage in the progress of civilization we can yet see depicted in the habits of the Tartar hordes upon the plains of central Asia. Population has somewhat increased; game has largely disappeared and its place has been taken by herds of cattle, sheep and horses. The inhabitants spend their time in moving their cattle from place to place, not forgetting to engage, by way of diversion, in murderous forays upon their neighbors killing them and running off their stock, or, they defend their own from like incursions on the part of others; but nothing like private property in land yet appears. Substantially, this was the condition of affairs among the Germanic tribes, as related by Cæsar, some 2,000 years ago. Time passes and the next stage gradually comes on. In this, for greater power in war abroad and greater security at home, larger combinations embracing greater numbers of men are formed, some sort of central authority is set up and everything is made to depend upon force, or military power. Under this rule might makes right and the rule of law is established: "The king can do no wrong." This survives in our jurisprudence to this day. (Under this, courts hold that no court can acknowledge that it has made a mistake.) The land is now said to belong to the lord, count or duke who may happen to

hold sway in that vicinity—principally because he is the only one who can summon force enough to take whatever he may desire to have or hold. This general condition of affairs prevailed throughout all Europe during the middle ages, so-called. The condition of the common people, however, varied very much in different localities and countries. If they happened to have “a good” king he treated his subjects with leniency, perhaps only calling out his people to aid him in war, leaving them comparatively free to cultivate land and rear soldiers for him in time of peace. At other times and in other lands the common people were simply slaves and subject to the whims and caprices of an absolute master. The following is taken from a standard historical account of “the middle ages.”

“The sovereign represented the state; to him, in that capacity, land conquered from the enemy, or forfeited by unsuccessful rebellion, became subject and he granted it to his followers on condition of faithful service in war. They promised to be “his men” and from their own tenants they exacted in turn the like promise on like conditions. The general insecurity made even free owners willing to buy the support of the sovereign on similar terms. Thus, by degrees, less by derivation from ideas of Roman law, to which it is sometimes attributed, than by the mere necessity of the times and as a consequence of the incessant state of warfare in which mankind existed, there came to be established the feudal doctrine that all land was held of the sovereign on condition of suit and service, and that each immediate tenant of the sovereign was entitled to sub-infeudate his possession on the same principles. Gradually the further attributes of property were added: Service in war was commuted into rent and the peaceful service of tilling the lord’s reserved domain. The right of hereditary succession became grafted on the personal grant: the power of sale and device followed. Local usage still had influence but it may be said, broadly, that from about the tenth century private property, subject to feudal conditions became the principle of the tenure of land in Europe.”—*Encyclopedia Britannica*.

In 1066 William the Norman invaded and conquered England, killing King Harold and dispersing his followers at the famous battle of Hastings, October 14, 1066. Thenceforward the land of England was held to belong to him as William I, king of England, by the grace of God.” He parceled out the greater portion of the soil among his favorites, upon promised service. And to this day this flat robbery is the source of the title to land not only in all England but to a very great extent in “this land of the free and home of the brave.”

For proof read the following, in which Blackstone states the English law:

It became a fundamental and necessary principle (though in reality a mere fiction) of our English tenures that the king is the universal lord and original proprietor of all the land in his kingdom; and that no man doth or can possess any part of it but what has mediately or immediately been derived as a gift from him to be held on feudal tenure.”—Blackstone’s Commentaries, II, 51.

“All the land in the kingdom is supposed to be holden mediately or immediately of the king who is styled the lord paramount, or above all.”—Blackstone’s Commentaries, II, 59.

As our laws proceed almost directly from English sources they repeat the same general line of reasoning. Chancellor Kent says:

“It is a settled and valid doctrine with us that all valid title to land within the United States is derived from the grant of our local government or from that of the United States, or from the crown or royal chartered governments established here previous to the revolution.”

* * * *

“It was held to be a settled doctrine that the courts could not take notice of any title to land not derived from our own state or colonial governments and duly verified by patent. This was also a fundamental principle in the colonial jurisprudence. All titles to land passed to individuals from the crown through the colonial corporations and the colonial or proprietary authorities.”—Kent’s Commentaries, II, 378.

We have now traced our "paper titles" back to their origin in force and fraud. In this way the unorganized multitude has been cheated out of its just right to the soil. By the soil all men may live. Without this right they exist upon sufferance of the fraudulent and the crafty, who in real truth possess no moral, no just title to land which they do not occupy and use.

"Bob" Ingersol is a lawyer of large ability who has made a study of land tenure. He says:

"No man should be allowed to own any land that he does not use. Everybody knows that I do not care whether he has thousands or millions. I have owned a great deal of land, but I know just as well as I know that I am living that I should not be allowed to have it unless I use it."

Blackstone states clearly enough the fact that occupancy and use is the only just title to land and yet he was, it seems, constrained to legalize what he states, is "in reality a mere fiction," that is, that the king—or the government—"is the universal lord and original proprietor" of land. Sir William Blackstone was under the control of a king, therefore he says that this "mere fiction" has "become a fundamental and necessary principle," that is, fundamental and necessary to the existence of the king. But he knows this is not right and so states.

Thomas Jefferson, in many respects the greatest man America has produced, states the true fundamental doctrine in the Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

This is plain. Rights come from God, from the Creator of the world, and the fool who thinks that some bastard king of hundreds of years ago had power to grant land, to usurp the place of Deity, is a fool indeed. By the way, William was a bastard in fact, as you will see by looking up his history. The

land belongs to its Creator. He has placed men upon this earth—they did not bring themselves—they are the children of the great First Cause, who so far as we can see, has given to "all men" equal rights—or he has given none. Men are not equal in stature or in mental power but in respect of their rights they are equal. And men's rights appertain to those natural opportunities—that is, the earth in a state of nature—which Infinite Power has provided for the use and sustenance of "all men." To the bounties of a common Father all children are entitled—or none are. Whence, then, comes the title of the privileged few? Let the poet answer:

Whence think'st thou kings and parasites arose?
Whence that unnatural line of drones who heap
Toil and unvanquishable penury
On those who build their palaces, and bring
Their daily bread? From vice, black loathsome
vice;
From rapine, madness, treachery, and wrong;
From all that gerders misery, and makes
Of earth this thorny wilderness; from lust,
Revenge and murder. And, when Reason's voice
Loud as the voice of Nature, shall have waked
The nations, and mankind perceive that vice
Is discord, war, and misery—that virtue
Is peace and happiness and harmony;
When man's maturer nature shall disdain
The playthings of its childhood; kingly glare
Will lose its power to dazzle; its authority
Will silently pass by; the gorgeous throne
Shall stand unnoticed in the regal hall,
Fast falling to decay; whilst falsehood's trade
Shall be as hateful and unprofitable
As that of truth is now. —SHELLEY,

Men know, intelligent men in all ages have always known, these things, but they fear to assert unpopular truths. Moral cowards are many. Many a man ready to play the bully fears the finger of scorn far more than the bullet of his adversary. It has ever been so with the average man, and ever will be so to the end. The lion hearted Peter declared to his Master that though all men should forsake him yet would not he. But when that Master was apprehended and taken in custody Peter stood without and warmed himself at the fire, for the day was cold, and when a poor,

weak servant maid charged him with knowing Him he denied it with an oath, saying, "I know not the man."

But for cowards the world might at once be saved from want and woe and wickedness

This withholding from starving and perishing men, women and little children the means of life is the giant crime of the ages; upheld, too, by our moral and religious teachers, by "good society" and by all the forces of our so-called civilization. Not through ignorance, for all educated men know the foundation of it all to be a lie. A lie which must be the most hateful possible to that Force, or Power, having cognizance of the fathomless misery of the weak, the poor and the vicious.

Adjoining the pretty little city of Chico, California, situated in the broad and level Sacramento valley, lies the baronial domain of John Bidwell, late Prohibition candidate for the office of president of the United States. It consists of twenty thousand acres of the richest land in the world and lies on both sides of the beautiful little Chico creek, extending at right angles to the Sacramento, up into the Sierra Nevada mountains, some twenty miles away. The estate is a wonderful one, magnificent in its beauties and its capabilities. It draws right up to the main street of the city and a high arched gate cuts off the city street in the midst of the busiest part of the town. High up over the gate a gilded sign bears the legend, RANCHO CHICO, and smaller notices abound warning the "trespasser."

Three or four thousand people are clustered about that land, many of them half-starved for lack of the means of living. Bidwell is terribly afraid that some of these poor devils will get a drop of whiskey and proposes by fire and sword—if need be—to prevent it. But of the need these people have of bread; of their lack of hope in the world; of their future outlook, sunk as they are in an enforced poverty, he seems not to care.

Did God give Bidwell this land because of the wickedness of the poor people about him? Or, is their poverty, weakness and criminality the natural result of the crime which society commits in allowing the system of which Bidwell is only an exemplar?

When the children of Israel were in the wilderness we read that manna descended from Heaven and their mouths were filled. We are not obliged in this to think of a miracle, of the breaking of nature's laws, but their wants being unexpectedly filled they said manna came from Heaven, from an Almighty Power—and so it did, as do all things. Suppose that under these circumstances some greedy Hebrew, had claimed to "own" the land upon which the manna, fell, had fenced it in and warned off all trespassers. Then when the wretched and starving people gathered about him had become sick, desperate, and drunken, mayhap, if wine could have been got, think of this bestial Hebrew aforesaid, undertaking to lecture them on the sin of drunkenness!

CHAPTER VI.

CENTURY OLD MISTAKES.

But, I shall be told, one most important element in the calculation of causes and effects embracing the social question has so far been entirely omitted. Adam Smith, with whom the science of political economy began, names three factors essential to the production of wealth, to wit: Land, labor and capital. The latter the most important of the three in any large production of wealth from the well attested fact that capital can always provide itself with land and labor, while without capital both land and labor are comparatively inefficient, indeed, almost helpless. The plain inference being that as capital, in any large sense, is almost entirely the property of the wealthy, land and labor are thus rendered entirely subservient to realized wealth, or money. From this it will, still further, be drawn, that even though all repressive enactments be repealed and withdrawn and labor be permitted to apply itself to natural opportunities free from taxation and repression, still, in this event, the result would show labor, without the assistance of capital, to be alone entirely unable to solve the momentous problems of the time.

To this it may be replied that capital is simply "stored labor"—the results of previous labor—and if now almost entirely in the hands of those who did not produce it, this of itself shows great injustice and need of radical change. The truth is that something more than a century ago intelligent and educated men began very generally to acknowledge among themselves that great injustice was being done the then so-called lower classes. The result of this fer-

ment of thought was seen throughout the world. Our own revolution, succeeded by that of the French, caused thrones to totter and the holders of special privilege to fear that their day of reckoning was close at hand. Fear took possession of those who lived upon the proceeds of fraud and pretence and for the time they knew not which way to turn. It so happened that about this time a very able Scotchman, devoted his talents to bolstering up or legitimizing the claim of "power and position" to control the wealth which all could see was produced by the workers. Adam Smith brought out his "Wealth of Nations" in 1776. It was hailed with delight by the frightened and conscience stricken aristocrats, for these had now a logical argument for their existence. That it was based upon a wrong premise they did not perceive. Practically, Smith makes the capital of a nation to consist mainly of "realized wealth," of money, or its stock of gold and silver coins. He defines capital as "that part of a man's stock which is devoted to the production of more wealth." Even according to his own definition the wealth of a nation must, then, mainly consist of its stock of labor, which is, in fact, the true source of a nation's wealth. But this while partially admitted is practically denied. All production—in his theory—being made dependent upon "capital" and capital being in the hands of the wealthy the power of privilege was henceforth assured. The robber of labor and the absorber of the fruits of production could now rest at ease. They had been vindicated by a Doctor of Laws. The scholar was now upon their

side and the poor could nurse their wrongs in silence. Another Aaron had erected a new golden calf and the people worshipped at its shrine. Wealth and privilege could now logically take their place in advance of human right. The doctrines of the Judean Carpenter were set at naught. The value of a soul was as nothing in comparison with pounds sterling. Humanity was crucified afresh, and as of old, at the command of "the chief priests and elders of the people."

It must be remembered that in England, in Smith's time, the only way for a man to "get on in the world" was to fawn upon the rich and powerful. This is somewhat the case today but to a far greater extent then. Smith did this to the extent of his ability. Let us see how. Adam Smith was born in Kirkcaldy Scotland, 1723. His father held a small office in the customs service at the port of Kirkcaldy. Doubtless he did as others of his ilk have done, magnified his office and his importance in the presence of his son, for this was the manner of the son. In 1737 Adam went to the University of Scotland and afterward to Balliol College, Oxford. He studied there seven years. In 1748 he went to Edinburg where he gradually became one of a little circle of men of letters then rising into importance. Here he wrote several books and proved himself useful to "the powers that be." In 1762 the University of Glasgow gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws. His "thirty pieces of silver" had now been paid in advance. "In the following year he became 'governor'" or travelling tutor to the young Duke of Buccleuch. He was then carefully collecting materials for 'The Wealth of Nations' and remained nearly a year in Paris mixing in the circle of renowned wits and philosophers of the reign of Louis XV."

Louis XV was the most corrupt, sensual and utterly vicious monarch who ever ruled over France. His court and

surroundings were of the most immoral and detestable character. This gave color to the society of the period, which under the influence of the courtizans who ruled Louis, was rotten to the core. These were the influences surrounding Smith. Louis XV sank almost completely under the influence of Madame Pompadour, to whom he gave notes on the treasury amounting to hundreds of millions of livres. Indifferent to the ruin of his people, and to everything but his own vile pleasures the king when told of the ruin, misery and discontent of his subjects only remarked that the monarchy would last as long as his life and continued immersed in sensual pleasures and trifling amusements. He boasted of being the best cook in France and was much gratified when the courtiers ate eagerly of the dishes which he had prepared. His gifts to Madame Du Barry, notwithstanding the poverty of his subjects and the embarrassment of the finances, amounting in five years to more than 180,000,000 livres—\$36,000,000.

Such were the object lessons before the eyes of Smith and yet in spite of them all he wrote a book which justifies and encourages the possessors of capital—the "stored labor" of the worker—in their continued and never ending robbery of labor by means of the manipulation of money or "realized wealth." Adam Smith was the founder of this sort of thing as a separate study—in books. He named it "political economy." The full title of this book was originally: "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations." It should have been: "Stealing Made Justifiable and Honorable by the Laws of Nature." Aristocrats have made much of Smith because his theories deliver humanity captive and bound into the hands of privileged wealth.

To the argument which states and enforces the ruling power of capital it may be replied that it cannot be true since

it makes man with all his vast powers and possibilities the mere servant of "capital," the creature which he has created; that it is opposed by all those rules of morals termed Christian and that it merely attempts to shift the onus of robbery from the person of the real robber to the laws of nature. Thus, in fact, it charges upon God the deviltry of man. Hence its popularity. The true foundation of this argument, and of Smith's book, is the desire on the part of men pricked in conscience to justify themselves.

Creation, it is agreed by all, is the highest test of ownership. Suppose—for the moment—the wholesale manufacturer to be the sole creator of the thing made by his machines and the labor of his operatives. Unless other men will buy it and consume it, it is without value as an article of commerce or trade. No demand, no value. And he must in this way be dependent upon large numbers of people to make the demand upon which value rests. These large numbers, then, are in a certain sense his partners in the work of creating the values which he appropriates. Now, as a matter of fact, he is also largely dependent in this upon his operatives; they furnish the labor, they make the goods, they create the manufactured value. Between the people who actually make his goods and those who make a market and demand for them, he is not the great factor in the creation of value we have been led to suppose. He is only a partner. Yet the value thus created by labor and public estimation, he appropriates. In his hands it becomes "capital" to be given, by Smith's theories, the power of life or death over immortal souls! In modern commerce, value—which is an estimation of the human mind—is created largely by the community—the general public. Kept in a desert waste the goods of the manufacturer would possess no value. If the public creates value it belongs to

the public. What value would a railroad have without a general public to furnish it with business? No population no business; no business, no value. Value, it is thus seen, is very largely a public institution and of public creation. To hold value, largely created by the public, as private "capital" is to bring manhood into bondage to money. This is the worship of Mammon, the great anti-Christ. But this is why Smith and his plausible theories are so much valued by those who in their inmost hearts know themselves as transgressors of the Christian law of brotherhood.

The public creation of most of the great fortunes of the day, now in the hands of individuals, can be readily proved. As a remedy for this state of affairs Socialists propose the abolition of private property by the erection of the social state, in which land and all the means of production are supposed to be the property of the state, all citizens sharing equally in the proceeds. This remedy I consider worse than the disease. The creation of noble, self-reliant, resourceful, masterful men and women is the chief and greatest work of the world. This work cannot go on, in fact is impossible without complete freedom and the presence of personal responsibility. Men, to be men, must manage for themselves and feel the weight of care coming from a sense of personal responsibility. Nothing brings character to a boy so quickly as this. Give a boy something to do in his own way and hold him responsible for results. This will develop his abilities as nothing else can. Many a man has failed as a man because he lacked this training, as a boy. Despite the evils of competition it cannot be entirely removed without great harm. By means of the graduated income tax society will be able to check the too rapid growth of great fortunes and repress its standard oil, railway and other "kings." Society in this way only takes its own. It

would be an easy matter to show that the Vanderbilt and Astor fortunes, for instance, are almost wholly the creation of the general public. Still, private property and personal freedom can not be utterly thrust aside.

But it will hardly be necessary to here do more than state that for the purpose of the construction of a moderate home for the average working man's family, capital, in any large sense, is in no wise necessary. Given, a few acres of productive soil made the inalienable possession of the family during life and freed from all taxation, and the willing muscles of the laboring man and his family will be able slowly to accumulate the rest. This much is absolutely essential to the future well being of the state and the people. And it can be had whenever the majority will vote for it. Nations really strong, contented and happy exist in millions of cottages, not in a few "palaces." "Labor is the true source of all real wealth and riches."

As has been stated Smith's "Wealth of Nations" appeared in 1776. Twenty-two years later one T. B. Malthus, a poor English clergyman, ambitious "to get on," and to shine in the eyes of "the upper classes" brought out his essay. This he called, "An Essay on the Principle of Population as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Writings of Mr. Godwin, Mr. Condorcet and Other Writers." This was the origin of what has since been called "Malthusianism." In this book he expounded his theory that "Population tends to outrun the means of subsistence." That is, Providence is sending into this world more mouths than he can feed in a state of general peace and happiness and, therefore, war, pestilence and famine are the God appointed means of reducing the surplus population—a way the Creator has of getting rid of his own mistakes. Straightway the Reverend Mr. Malthus found himself famous. Cambridge made him

a Doctor of Divinity, and a snug place was found for him to the end of his days. The rich had need of him and his vile accusations against the Creator.

But Malthus was now famous. He was dined and wined by "the nobility and gentry." The Malthusian theory was everywhere adopted by rank, birth and "society," and the great and apparent wickedness of the Creator in continuing to bring into the world millions of innocent children for whom no place had been kept at Nature's well-spread table and whose only inheritance was a life of misery and a death of agony was thought to be scientifically established. Malthus had been a poor clergyman with a large family—some eight or nine children—and from his own struggle for existence seems to have drawn the inference that as children, with him, outran the means of subsistence, the world and the whole human family were constructed—and rightfully so—upon the same model.

Poor Malthus is not the only man who has undertaken to cut out trousers for the whole human family, using himself as model and pattern. The man who does this usually has a good many "misfits" left on hand. Commonly he is extremely lucky if the pair he has made for himself do not excite the derision of his neighbors. "Society," however accepted the Malthusian trousers—not for themselves! Bless you no, but for the other fellows. The great and growing number of the oppressed, the evicted, the disappointed, the victims of cruel injustice and the sorrowful reminders of man's inhumanity to man—these were all to put on the Malthusian garb and thank the stars that their fate had been no worse, for had not God and the great Dr. Malthus settled the question forever against them? Should they grumble against the decrees of the Almighty or the exertions of his servants who were hard at work doing the will of God in thrusting them down into the lower depths of despair?

Although this horrible trash was completely and entirely opposed to the letter and spirit of the New Testament; was spoken against by the Master and denounced with unsparing force, still, by the church, man's inhumanity to man was justified and even deified; for was not God the author of "the decrees?" And was it not right that a man should be content in that station of life whereto it had pleased God to call him?

These considerations held our fathers and bade them look with equanimity upon the want and wretchedness which their own unjust laws had created. And even in our day this damnable heresy has fastened itself upon modern civilized life under the name of "the laws of supply and demand," simply and solely because these formulas are supposed to excuse man from the result of his own wrong doing. And yet men know that the principal occupation of the Napoleons of trade is to interfere with natural conditions and make demand or shut off supply as suits their notions of plunder.

Men make these laws and in our day control them completely. Yet they tell the people that they themselves are not blamable but that the intangible and unreachable "laws of trade," which fix supply and control demand, are alone answerable. These laws are natural—hence from Nature or the Supreme Cause. It is the old story. Malthus over again. God is to blame, not we.

It used to be held that God brought pestilence to punish man for his sins. That did very well a hundred years ago. Now, people are beginning to know something of sanitary laws and to understand that filth and bad drainage are entirely sufficient causes. But Smith's political economy and Malthusianism in one shape or another, although as much out of place in the closing days of the nineteenth century as would be the Pope's bull against the comet, are still used to prevent home owning and independence on the part of the great plain people of America.

CHAPTER VII.

FALSE HOPES.

Some one has said that the success of any plan having for its object the amelioration of the conditions surrounding humanity must depend upon two things. First, the plan must be in consonance with man's nature, and, second, it must also agree with the known laws of external nature. This appears to me a most sagacious remark. In these days of pamphlets one meets with all sorts of theories and among them not a few which fly in the face of all previous hu-

man experience, the authors presuming, one might suppose, that as something different is wanted that the thing to be desired must, perforce, be like nothing which so far has ever had existence.

But, surely, we ought to remember that the factors to be employed, man and nature, are, and must through all ages, remain the same. And, too, we cannot forget, that whatever has been found in the past to conflict with either

of these factors has finally come to grief. Nature and human nature remain. The laws by which both are governed have never changed, nor is it likely that, in this world at least, they ever will. If a long succession of events has in past ages shown that a certain course is in opposition to these laws it is not reasonable to suppose that a new trial will disclose different results. And yet we find men constantly hoping that a new effect may follow old causes, if only new names are given them. To succeed with men we must take them as they are, not as we might wish them to be. The world in which we live is governed by certain laws called natural, which, so far as we are informed, have never varied or changed in the smallest particular. The factors, then, are the world as it exists and man as he is. The future will furnish no others. If, then, certain proposed changes in our manner of life and mode of government are seen by the unbiased mind to be in conflict with the nature of man, as shown by his course in the past, or the general laws of nature, as developed by a continued succession of human experiences, we must conclude that these changes are impracticable, not calculated to remedy existing difficulties and will surely come to naught. To conclude otherwise would be to refuse to learn from the results of human experience. Men are constantly looking forward, revolving new plans and trying, in their minds, new theories. This is well. It means final progress. But the great fault of the present trend of thought—as it appears to me—is this, men are expecting too much to be done for them without giving sufficient attention to what they themselves may be required to do. In short, they are concerning themselves more about rights and privileges and pleasures than about duties. Men have for the moment forgotten that true happiness only comes as the result of duty done.

Straight is the line of duty,
Curved is the line of beauty;
Walk by the one
And thou shalt ever see
The other follow thee.

"Life is real, life is earnest," said the poet and he spoke the truth. Life is a struggle. It must be so. When it ceases to be a struggle improvement is at an end. In the South Sea islands food is all that man needs to live and the sea and the trees furnish that for the taking. The kind of men these surroundings produce do not need to be imitated. White men with centuries of ancestral energy behind them subjected to these conditions rapidly degenerate.

Now-a-days we have people, earnest people, good people, who, flying from the too hard conditions of the present would go to the other extreme and provide, in the government of the future, South Sea conditions for men here in the United States. "The co-operative commonwealth" is, just now, the most popular "fad." In this all the means of production, including land and machinery, are supposed to belong to the "commonwealth," that is, to everybody; all citizens to assist in a very moderate way—a few hours each day—in the conduct of "the business," the proceeds to be equally divided among all. This theory is an exceedingly old one—Plato advanced it more than two thousand years ago and it was probably old in his day—it has regularly come to the fore in times of revolution and great mental unrest, such as the present, but has never yet had trial upon a large scale. Several times in the history of the world it has been upon the point of trial but it has invariably failed because of the quarrels and excesses of the would be co-operators. It has been the story of the Tower of Babel over and over again. Many people who are disposed to laugh at Bible "stories" would do well to look deeper. Often the stories are simple allegories conveying the deepest philosophic truths. This is the

case with the story of the Tower of Babel. First, we are informed that the people were "of one language and one speech." That is, they were of one mind; they agreed in their plans. Nothing bad, surely, about that. Next, there was nothing impious in their plans. This has been misrepresented. The motive is given—they didn't want to be "scattered abroad." That's all right, too; who does?

And they said go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach into heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. Gen. XI., 4.

Next the Lord is written down as saying that if they continue to agree perfectly—that is to talk the same way—they will accomplish anything that they may set their minds on. Why, of course.

And the Lord said: Behold the people is one and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do."—Gen. XI., 6.

Next, the Lord—that is, sovereign power, or Nature—is represented as preventing continued agreement.

Go to, let us go down and there confound their language that they may not understand one another's speech.

So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city.—Gen. XI., 7-8.

Here the fact is plainly stated that the Ruling Force makes it impossible for men in great numbers to continue to agree upon one line of policy, where all are concerned in direct management. What would an army be worth with only two commanders? How much where all are supposed to command? Look at the masses of men in our own country today. Can they agree? Look at history. Look anywhere; does not this Bible story correctly interpret human nature?

And so, man's nature remaining the same, the same story has been repeated from age to age. In all cases among the would-be co-operators have been

found most able and honest men, men of great purity and uprightness, still large numbers, as must always be the case, were ignorant, turbulent and revengeful and these the more studious were entirely unable to control from the absence of that central power and commanding authority which their system forbade.

A few years ago Edward Bellamy published a very readable romance which he called "Looking Backward." This was widely read and produced a very marked effect upon the public mind. In this book, which evidently drew its inspiration from Plato's "Republic" and More's "Utopia," Mr. Bellamy supplies the defect which we have noted, by the institution of a military form of enlistment and government. Each citizen is to serve in the "industrial army" from the age of 21 until 45, then he—or she—is to retire from work but is to receive his "credit card" entitling him to obtain from the national magazine whatever he desires up to a certain set valuation. Every body is to have a good time and work at whatever he is best fitted to do, those who labor at extra hard or hazardous work, as mining, for instance, to work a less number of hours per day, thus compensating them for the nature of their occupation. Mr. Bellamy has since named his dream "nationalism," and has a large number of followers throughout the country, indeed, most generous people are quite ready to sympathize with his views, to a greater or less extent. It is, however, now beginning to be perceived by many, who at first counted themselves as "nationalists," that this system contains many serious defects. Readers will remember that Mr. Bellamy, very wisely, makes no mention of "the land question," has nothing to say of the country, or of farms or farmers. All his accounts of life a hundred years hence relate to the manners and customs in vogue in cities. He certainly was quite shrewd.

in the making of his story to say nothing of the farm for when city streets are entirely covered with awnings or "omnibus umbrellas" on rainy days, the city everywhere brilliantly lighted by electricity and "credit cards" free to every body entitling all to seats at hotel tables and the opera, etc., etc., it will surely need the whole "industrial army" to keep the farmers, and especially the farmer's boys, from rushing in and taking complete possession of the whole "show." Then, too, it is readily perceived—now that the first flush of enjoyment over the presentation of a new dream is over—that immense difficulties lie in the way of apportioning employment to the varying capacities of the different individuals. Under the new regime there would be no Abraham Lincolns. Such a long-limbed, slab-sided giant as he was would never be allowed to try to reach the intellectual or mental heights. And even if allowed to try, the years of awkward trying and uncounted failures, which the real Abe. underwent, would never be allowed in "the community." Two or three ridiculous failures and the poor fellow would be sent to dig coal or ditches. Too much muscle would be going to waste, it would be thought. Now the misery of it all is, no one can tell who the real Abraham Lincolns are until they have had an opportunity to make themselves; or, more accurately, until the divinity in each has worked up the material at its command. And this can only be the case in complete individual freedom. Liberty is thus seen to be a more valuable possession, when the future advance of humanity is considered, than all beside. Dean Swift, I think it was, who compared life to a trestle board on which all the round holes were filled with square pegs and all the square holes with round ones. And this is substantially the view of a large majority of people. You very rarely find a man who thinks himself engaged in the business for which he fancies himself fitted. And when in a moment of confidence

he confides to you his thoughts regarding his own qualifications for some other occupation or profession you are often dumb from very astonishment. "O wad some power the giftie gie us to see oursel as ithers see us." But it never does. We are all—in our younger days—Abraham Lincolns, or George Washingtons, or Thomas A. Edisons, or some other equally illustrious individual. And it is God's mercy to the race that we are so. This means improvement; this means an advance for the race. True it is that most fail to reach the heights. But it is something to have tried. Whoever has tried to rise in an honest way is forever the better for it. This is what life means. This is what it is for. That men may advance. And men advance, and only advance, by surmounting opposition. I think there never lived a mentally well developed and helpful man who had passed his youth and early manhood in luxury with every want supplied. Men are not made better, or stronger, by giving them everything, but rather by inducing them to struggle to obtain. The effort must not be made impossible of success. This in many instances is the case today. A fair field, and no favoritism is the demand, and this can only be the case in freedom. Now, we have economic and commercial tyranny. Remove this; liberate men; give them the fair field that all resolute natures demand and all generous ones would concede and man will then be in position to advance. And this is the goal; the evolution of better and stronger men; not the mere getting of bread and butter for a world full of weaklings.

Mr. Bellamy's military form of government is another great objection. Men deteriorate in camps, in all great companies. The modern city is a case in point. It is the hint of nature which must be obeyed, otherwise her dire and certain punishments are in store for the disobedient. West Pointers and other martinets will tell you that men improve under their discipline. But the

men themselves — and the surgeon — know better. Old soldiers will often tell you of the "good times" they experienced in the army and yet, doubtless, they can also remember the transport of joy with which they hailed the advent of peace! No good man desires to remain in an army. The necessity of enlistment may be great in his mind but he hopes the necessity may soon pass away. Discipline, and control, and constant supervision, are hateful to the resolute and resourceful mind. Men to whom they are not, have small place in this world; mere wastrels they can not advance.

Mr. Bellamy's attempt is, the old one of the abolition of private property, veiled under euphonious names and concealed in a story. They have all things in common. "Credit cards" do away with money; all have the same amount and nobody, individually, owns anything. This feature is of the most advanced socialistic type; one of the prophets of socialism declaring as one of the foundation stones of his system that "property is robbery." In a good many instances, property, in these degenerate days is the result of robbery but because this results from abuse we need not suppose that proper use would necessarily end in the same way. It is not necessary to burn down the house because the inhabitant is engaged in an illegitimate business. The institution of private property has its origin deep within the springs of the human mind. It forms a large, and often a controlling, share of the motives which influence it; and, as a matter of fact, these motives have never been silenced save and except in the presence of greater and more powerful ones. Small companies of religious enthusiasts have been able, temporarily, to hold all things in common but it was only while religious enthusiasm overmastered every other emotion; when this failed the compact was quickly broken.

Looking Backward was, it seems to me, rightly named, but men should look forward. To hold men together in military organization, as a permanent proposition, with the idea of giving each one "a good time" is surely a low idea of the vast possibilities of humanity. If a good time is the aim each citizen will be sure that he is not having quite so good a time as his neighbor and inside of thirty days after the launching of "the co-operative commonwealth" if "the army" can vote and the initiative and referendum are in use trouble will begin. That co-operation of limited numbers which leaves the personal life of the individual out of the account, will succeed most of us have ocular evidence. But that is another and an entirely different matter. So long as they agree to be led by some master mind among them all is well. When all try to rule the thing comes to an end.

Men, to be men, must decide for themselves, must act for themselves. The true man will be his own prophet, priest and king. He is the son of the Most High and must work out his own salvation; no "board of control" can do it for him or relieve him of his own sense of responsibility. And this weight of personal responsibility is a mighty factor in the making of men.

The true rule—as it seems to me—is this: PUBLIC THINGS TO THE PUBLIC; PRIVATE AFFAIRS TO THE INDIVIDUAL. Whatever service is of a public nature must be conducted by the public, and for the public, as is the case with the post office and the public school. So far the socialists are right; but upon whatever chiefly concerns the individual life of man, the home and the family let no man or government dare lay the finger of authority, save as punishment for crime. There must be a "safety valve." Man must be able to escape at some point from the command of authority.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DESIRE OF MAN'S HEART.

Self preservation it is agreed is the first law of nature. This, then, is a command, enforced by each man upon himself. For no man escapes from himself and the laws of his own nature he will obey, because he cannot do otherwise. Wise people, good people, have in all ages warned men against selfishness. But no man ever did, or ever can, escape it. He may exercise choice regarding the way it shall influence him; of this, however, I am not sure, for each man is moved to do that he does by influences whose secret springs he knows not of. If the first law of man's nature commands him to care for himself—this above all things—that he will do, for it then becomes his chief desire. But how care for himself? Ah, there difference begins. This man may fancy that by denying himself here he will attain a greater weight of glory there. In this he follows the law of selfishness, as do all men. Another relieves the sick and comforts the broken-hearted—to save the pain he would otherwise feel if he refused. Self, self, always self is first. It is the first law.

Men who would advance must learn to think. Thought to be valuable must concentrate in the mind of the thinker and to achieve the best results he must be much alone. He must appeal to his own better self. If constantly surrounded by his fellows the influences coming from them prevent that concentration of mind necessary to the best thought. The student at college, despite his surroundings, is much alone; his study demands it. But the condi-

tions and surroundings of the student are not possible to the great plain people, nor is it well that they should be. There is a better school—the school of nature—which may be opened to all, if men will but use it. Go talk to the shy and silent man who has spent his life as a hunter, far from the haunts of men. Though he cannot read a word of your written language and speaks with stumbling hesitation he has rich gems of thought, which, when you have comprehended them, as you may not at first, will amaze and delight you. And yet, naturally his mind was of a low order, and what he has now was forced upon him by the very awe and magnificence of the processes of nature by which he has been surrounded. And in the untutored savage, unspoiled by “civilization” and uncorrupted by “knowledge” you shall find the same.

Go, then, from these men of wisdom, who yet may be called ignorant, to those who are not ignorant, and who still have no wisdom. You know where to find them. The camp, the court and the factory are full of them. Seeing they see not and hearing they hear not. Why? Their eyes are holden by the influences that come unbidden from their fellows; from sight of the sins and follies, which animal-like they are forced to imitate, and their ears are deafened by the babel of evil communications which corrupt good manners—and minds. Up to the years of discretion—if they ever come—we learn evil readily and good but rarely. Such is the fatal constitution of the human mind and so is destiny fixed. One boy, by himself, may do much of good; a dozen, and the devil is to pay.

And men are but children of a larger growth. Men are ashamed in a crowd to utter their higher thoughts while folly has eager currency. All this has its effect upon the formation of character. No man in the company escapes it, while he remains in it. Let any man be one of a company and he must adopt the current thought of the company; otherwise he is jeered into silence. Most will conform, a few may not, but their children will. And because of the fact that in a mixed company high thought is not current and folly is, the multitude tread the broad road which leads downward. Downward to animalism. Go among the workmen of the cities in time of prosperity. Many get high wages; the flower of civilization is their's for the plucking. Libraries, lectures, art galleries, the treasures of the world are at hand. But they heed them not. A few, a very few, may, but they form only the exception that proves the rule. A few save money, taking the advice of the wealth getter, that they, too, may become wealth holders and extortioners in their turn. They are no better than the other fools who follow only present pleasure. These wait for the future pleasure of extorting from their fellows. But find the majority. You will not need to seek them far. After work and supper, the street, the saloon and the brothel, the gaming table, cards, alcohol and tobacco. Who needs to tell the story, do we not all know it?

When will it be otherwise? When true and proper self-hood asserts itself, freeing itself from the animalism of the crowd. Never till then. One dog may be a very respectable companion for a wise man. Bring ten together and there will be a fight; a hundred and the sheep will need a most secure fold. One encourages another in mischief; for true conduct no dog speaks.

These things come from the constitution of the animal mind which is in man. And in the crowd, whether of

men or dogs, the animal is uppermost. It has ever been so and the future will bring no change. It is true that picked companies of men having like thoughts and desires may find pleasure and profit in companionship. This is one of the great pleasures of life but even these companies must not be too large. But the general public can not be here included. Truest pleasures cannot be exposed to the public gaze. Why waste energy and precious time in attempting to fight against the natural course of things. We come into life alone, alone we leave it and alone must we meet the crises of life. No man shares, or can share, our individual responsibility. If men are to become men in the truest sense they must depend upon themselves. All other help is a hindrance which destroys character. I call that education only which draws out the natural force of man. The derivation of the word shows that. *Educo*, the root, to draw out.

We read that the tower and city of Babel were expected to scale the heights of heaven, that is, being interpreted, to oppose the laws of Nature. No doubt the men of that day were honest enough, as many babelites have been since, and the more honest the greater fools they were. Which nobody can deny.

There is a word dearer than even mother, home or heaven. It is LIBERTY! The word denotes a condition. This condition is the desire of the heart of man, for in it true self-hood is possible. How then may the average man obtain it?

Happy is the man, whose wish and care,
A few paternal acres bound,
Content to breathe his native air

In his own ground.

Whose herds with milk, whose fields with
bread,
Whose flocks supply him with attire,
Whose trees in summer yield him shade,
In winter fire.

Blest, who can unconcernedly find
 Hours, days and years, slide soft away,
 In health of body, peace of mind,
 Quiet by day.

Sound sleep by night; study and ease,
 Together mix; sweet recreation;
 And innocence, which most does please
 With meditation.

Thus let me live, unseen, unknown,
 Thus unlamented let me die,
 Steal from the world, and not a stone
 Tell where I lie.

—Pope.

"Sir, I am a true laborer: I earn that I eat, get that I wear, owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness, glad of other men's good, content with my harm, and the greatest of my pride is to see my ewes graze and my lambs suck."—Shakespeare.

Twenty of the happiest years of the writer's life were spent upon farms. Reared in towns, closely shut up in either school or salesroom from youngest boyhood he had never spent more than a week away from town up to the time when he bought a tract of prairie land in Illinois and began the life of a farmer. The freedom of life experienced by the change was wonderful. He was no longer at the beck and call of whoever came into his place of business, for it must be remembered that the retail dealer is one of the most abject servants to be found. A servant of servants he must be, upon occasion. To be his own master with none to molest was indeed a new and most agreeable experience, which even to this day has not been forgotten. During these twenty years the writer made and lived upon five new farms, in three different states. These personal matters are here introduced that it may be seen that he does not speak as a novice.

Some one has said that the amount of freedom enjoyed by a man can be quite accurately gaged by the amount of time which he can take, without detriment from his occupation, to devote to his own personal pleasure or individual improvement. This seems to me true and just. And who can compare in this with

the farmer who is out of debt and secure in the possession of his home? What other man can bundle all his family into his own conveyance and start off, care free, upon a visit. And do this, too, during a large part of the year as often as he may like. Or, who will enjoy the like visit of a friend and his family as the farmer will who out of his abundance can set before them the produce of his own labor, gladly and joyfully? Who has so much time to spend in reading and study—if so minded—as he? And, too, if intellectually disposed the union of outdoor labor and indoor thought and study, neither being excessive, forms the only genuine and proper base for true thought and meditation. That these propositions are true, volumes of proof might readily be furnished but it will not be necessary, for no man of sound mind and experience in life will doubt them. The history of men and nations gives testimony in the same direction. and in this direction only. Here only are found that true patriotism, that resolute love of liberty, that elevation and reliability of character upon which a nation or a state may be founded. The civic mob has ever been as unreliable and treacherous as the wind that blows. Are we foolish enough to suppose that it will ever be anything else? The time came, in Rome, when demagogues ruled by pandering to the city mob. (Right here it should be remembered that a demagogue—"one who attempts to control the multitude by deceitful arts." Webster—is one who deceives the public, never one who tells it the truth.) The mob, in the "marble" city of Rome, surrounded by beautiful architecture, sculpture, the sports of the arena and the intellectual treats of the forum, cried only for "bread and games," something to eat and to amuse. And they were not ignorant people, for the time. Far from it. But, "that elder day, when to be a Roman was greater than a king," had departed. They had

become "a community." They theorized upon just such propositions as "all for each and each for all" and the man who thinks the theorizers of that day were anywise inferior to the labor unions of today knows nothing of history.

The proudest, the freest and the truest Roman days were the early days when each family possessed its little farm. Once upon a time the Volscians threatened Rome. Cincinnatus, the general, being sent for, the messenger found him ploughing in his field. Summoned to the supreme dictatorship, in a memorable campaign of sixteen days he had beaten the enemy and retired to his field and his plow. News of the battle of Lexington reaching Putnam he left his team yoked to the plow and hastened to the defence of free institutions. These were men. And they were the product of institutions, and these are, in course, freedom, solitude, thought, resolution, self reliance, courage, character. A strong people have courage and need no standing army. As the people become weaker the army grows stronger. And this is no mere coincidence; the one is a necessary compliment of the other.

Were half the power that fills the world with
terror,

Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and
courts,

Given to redeem the human mind from error
There were no need of arsenals or forts.

—Longfellow.

The meanest passion that affects the mind of man is fear. And fear is the sure sign and evidence of wrong. Men who fear the mob are conscious of having wronged it and men who "fear God" usually have good reason to do so.

The first man of whom we have any account was placed in a garden with instructions "to dress it and keep it." This I take to be an allegory setting forth the most profound truths of nature. No man goes beyond, or can go beyond, this statement.

"And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man become a living soul."—Gen., 2-7.

That is to say: Supreme power fashioned man from matter, and gave him an immaterial mind, or soul.

"And the Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to dress and keep it."—Gen., 2-15.

In the childhood of the race, or with children today, truth must be idealized or personified to be received. The import of this statement is, simply: Man's natural, legitimate and most useful life is found in conjunction and communion with nature.

Man will best obtain liberty and the desire of his heart by becoming obedient unto law—the law of nature and of God.

CHAPTER IX.

HOPE THE MAINSPRING OF ACTION.

That all true life is a struggle from lower to higher conditions cannot be too often repeated. The old and the outworn must continually give way to the new, if humanity is to advance. Encased in the hardened forms of superstition, legality and antiquated custom, man weakly struggles to be free. Let him learn of nature and be wise. Geology shows us the skeletons of the past encased in the rocks formed in the early twilight of the ages. Shapeless monsters, living only to prey on each other, they gradually gave place to higher organizations. And still the work is in progress. Man, first a savage and then a barbarian, has obeyed the same mighty law and is slowly taking form and place as the child of God and heir of the priceless treasures of the Eternal Mind. But he is still at an immense distance from the goal. The way is long and difficult but it must be followed. There is but one true path. By knowledge man becomes stronger and better fitted to encounter the difficulties he must surmount. But the difficulties will remain. They must remain. They are the text books in the school of life. Foolish boys would abolish them and with them the means of knowledge, for by these men are taught; and most men will learn only in this the school of personal experience. Nature's methods are rough and hard, but she is at heart a kind and most devoted mother. If her children can but lean upon her breast she will teach them the way of life. Cursed be the hand of that man who would prevent it.

"You take my house, when you do take the prop
That does sustain my house; you take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."
—Shakspeare.

In the early history of these United States land, and the means of living, were comparatively free. Men, then, were also free. The one statement is a necessary complement of the other, for one cannot be true without the other. And even the inhabitant of towns who did not wish to "take up land" felt the freedom of his brother. For thus was he freed from that soul-killing competition which now seems the lot of all who labor. In spite of the great influx of needy foreigners a state of comparative freedom was maintained up to the time, about a generation ago, when it began to be difficult for the poor man to obtain land. This was the dividing line; man's ability to apply his labor to free soil. And this previous freedom was the result, pure and simple, of the abundance of land, to be had almost for the asking.

The Free Soil National Convention of 1852—really the first Republican National Convention—acknowledged these truths in its platform of that year, saying:

"All men have a natural right to a portion of the soil, and as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as the right to life itself."

Up to that time employment was at every man's door, there were no "unemployed," no "tramps," no public misery. And all this because men could apply labor to land without the payment of

rent to men who had no moral right, no just right, to thus live upon the labor of others. Instead of paying rent the cultivator of land received it in the constantly increasing value of his farm. And wherever this applied only to the land used for self-support this was, and is, and ever will be, just; unless the land is needed for public use. In that case the right of the many exceeds that of one family as a matter of course. And this was the reason of general prosperity and no other. The power of the money changers in President Jackson's time was as great for evil as it is today and the damage inflicted by them upon property-holders as severe, and proportioned to the number of people in the country, as many were ruined by their machinations as is the case today. In some respects the panic of 1837 has never since been equalled. But there was, at that time, always a way of escape to the man willing to labor. Uncle Sam was, then, "rich enough to give us all a farm"—as he is today, when affairs are properly adjusted, and in this adjustment no man's property need be taken without payment; but of this more will be said farther on. Then, whoever was so minded could take his axe and gun and carve out for himself a home in the wilderness. He could, if moderately skilled as a hunter, make a support from the start, with a comfortable home and a moderate fortune as a certainty in the future. Add to the axe and gun a horse and cow and he was able to support a family. In those days it was a shame for a man to be without employment and no man, no healthy man, need feel discouraged. Opportunity was open to all, for he who did not wish to "farm it" could readily find an opening in some one of the little towns—soon to be larger—with which the country was filled. He could always "go west and grow up with the country." Then, "Go west young man," was the true material gospel, for it meant health, wealth and prosperity.

Thus the conditions were present which nature demands, which she will have, or inflict her penalties. We have seen that this is her way. It is clearly shown us in the history of the past. Among savages land is free—and men. Civilization, so-called, restricts man's natural right to the soil; nature rebels, turmoil and destruction result and man is once more brought back to primitive conditions.

"First freedom and then glory, when this fails,
Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last,
And history with all her volumes vast
Hath but one page."

Freedom to apply labor to land assures to all men not only a support, not only an answer to the daily recurring wants of the physical body, but also gives that hope, that boundless confidence in the future which has been the main-spring of that American progress and character which has amazed and instructed the world. Men must be permitted to hope. When will our plutocrats learn that unless the cottages of the country are filled with hopeful and happy families that their pretentious "palaces" rest upon most insecure ground?

Every physical fact, every material fact, depends for its applicability and its value upon the facts of human nature. "As a man thinketh so is he." The condition of the minds of the people in a country is the most important thing to be considered in any land or time. If a wave of thought passes over the minds of men immediately its effects are seen in their actions and in the character of their deeds. Let no man deceive himself. If the minds of men, of the great general public, are strongly moved upon, a condition is created which must be reckoned with in any calculation regarding the future. Thus coming events cast their shadows before and he who is wise may read the signs of the coming day. As this will not be denied by any man of experience or penetration of mind it may be well to note for a moment the manner in which "the first law of

nature" affects men generally. The questions which here arise may be answered by saying that man lives to acquire; to gain something. Some small gain, in one direction or another, must be his. The scholar, though steeped in poverty, is satisfied with his gain in knowledge; the pietist with advance in his peculiar thought; the artist with increase of talent and the man of the world with enlarging coffers. But there must in all cases be an advance. This is the law. Increase need not be great, but it must be continuous. Hope must have somewhat upon which to feed. We are often amazed by the conduct of men who though excessively wealthy still grasp for greater riches. We need not be. They only obey a law of nature which it is impossible to shun without penalty. For, if a man after having formed character as a wealth-getter suddenly ceases to acquire and "retires," he is miserable. Self-preservation is the first law and it affects men by making them desirous of acquiring something. What that something may be depends upon the man, upon the peculiar constitution of his mind. But he must acquire something. It may be either wealth, honor, skill, power, glory, or what not, but an advance must be made. If these considerations do not move a man we say that he is deranged or insane and we speak the truth, because he is of unsound mind, that is, his mind is seen to be abnormal and unnatural. Now, this being the case, if from any cause it becomes impossible for men to satisfy the natural desires of the mind they are rendered insane just to the degree in which hope is shut off. If hope is absolutely and entirely destroyed the man is absolutely and entirely insane, as any standard authority in this matter will show us. Hope in the future, on the part of the great common people in this country, is being destroyed, as all men not blinded by their ill gotten gains know full well. What will our ignorant

millionaire masters do with a nation of madmen? And from appearances it would seem that they will eventually have an opportunity to test the matter.

The truth is the "men of affairs" the "Napoleons of trade" and the like, who at this stage in our national life control our policies are for the most part densely ignorant men. Of history and philosophy they know nothing and care less. One of the class said to the writer, some years ago: "Money has always controlled men and it always will." What a fool! Who does not know that hate, when sufficiently aroused, leaves money out of sight. Let two men become angry at one another and they will spend the last hardly earned dollar they have, or can borrow, in fighting a case at law. Did the money of the nobles save their lives even, in the French Revolution? And is not hate being aroused in this country? And the monopolists are saying among themselves that this hate, which they by their evil deeds have created, is the result of the teachings of "agitators!" Do they suppose the people can be continually and forever deceived by their lying presses? The slave-drivers of the south were wiser. Their slaves could not read. Let them attack their real enemy—the common schools. Would they have men as ignorant as themselves? Is this their wish? And do not they, more than others, need to know the truth?

Says Walter Bagehot, an English scholar of great authority:

Any system which makes the mass of society hate the constitution of that society must be in unstable equilibrium. A small touch will overthrow it and scarcely any human power will re-establish it."

Talk about agitators and deceivers of the people! The real deceivers are the editors of the capitalistic press and the lying and thieving politicians, in whose pay they write, these are the "demagogues." Truth is what is arousing the people. Will they call Dr. Paley, the

celebrated English divine of the last century, whose system of philosophy is still taught in our schools, a demagogue because he set before the world the following true picture:

"If you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn; and if (instead of each picking where and when it liked, taking just as much as it wanted, and no more) you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got into a heap; reserving nothing for themselves but the chaff and the refuse; keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest, perhaps worst, pigeon of the flock; sitting round, and looking on, all the winter, whilst this one was devouring, throwing about, and wasting it; and if a pigeon more hardy or hungry than the rest, touched a grain of the hoard, all the others flying upon it and tearing it to pieces; if you should see this, you would see nothing more than what is every day practiced and established among men. Among men, you see the ninety and nine toiling and scraping together a heap of superfluities for one (and this one too, oftentimes, the feeblest and worst of the whole set, a child, a woman, a madman, or a fool) getting nothing for themselves all the while, but a little of the coarsest of the provision which their own industry produces; looking quietly on, while they see the fruits of all their labor spent or spoiled; and if one of the number take or touch a particle of the hoard, the others joining against him, and hanging him for the theft."

Now, if you wish to note the same sort of thing among men read the following from a recent English paper:

"It is said that a person standing on the ruins of the old castle of Hawarden, near Gladstone's home, can see with the naked eye enough unused park land to furnish livelihood for perhaps a million people. Most of this land is owned by the duke of Westminster and only the rabbits that overrun it seem to get any advantage out of it. Mr. Gladstone's own estate comprises several thousand acres of forest land untouched by any axe except that of the G. O. M. himself. It has been at times a favorite hunting preserve for Herbert Gladstone, who occasionally slaughters rabbits there."

The other day Mr. Gladstone being called to speak in an English meeting

upon the subject of the recent massacre of Armenian Christians, said:

"If the allegations are true, it will stand as if written in letters of iron on the rocks of the world, that a government which could countenance and cover the perpetration of these outrages is a disgrace to Mohammed, whom the Turks profess to follow, a disgrace to civilization at large, and a curse to mankind."

Mr. Gladstone, in company with millions of other people, has, no doubt, keenly felt the barbarity of these murders. We all, however, are much inclined to note the sins of others, passing over in silence our own transgressions. Let Mr. Gladstone, and the English, look at home for murderers. The English holders of Egyptian bonds who brought the guns of their great ships of war—for they use their government as our bond-holders do ours—to bear upon Alexandria in the war upon the Egyptian fellaheen, who under Arabi Pasha struck a blow for freedom, were responsible at that time for far greater outrage and murder than have been the Turks of late. And he quite forgets the slow murder of millions of his own countrymen effected by denying them any portion of the land of their fathers; a right given them by the Creator and now kept back by fraud, resulting in poverty, disgrace, crime and death. For when opportunity is taken from men hope sinks and manhood is destroyed. Thus the men of one generation are not only slowly destroyed and slowly murdered, but coming generations, also, are injured beyond repair. These conditions are imposed upon humanity by men like Mr. Gladstone, nor will the English government, constituted as it now is, ever take a step toward justice. Under these circumstances I do not hesitate to parody the language of "the grand old man" by saying, that the government that can countenance and cover the perpetration of these outrages is a disgrace to Jesus, whom the English profess to

follow; a disgrace to civilization at large and a curse to man kind.

But we have the same to answer for. All over the country, and especially in California, one may see the like; land monopoly is common. Everywhere there is land enough and to spare. If no one has too much, all will have enough. But as affairs now are with us the small land owner has a hard time of it. Indeed, it is now impossible for men to apply labor to land without becoming subject to the ruinous exactions of the land-lord, the lend-lord, the trust and the thousand and one sources of monopoly. These, one and all, are entrenched in stat-

ute law. Take away special legal privilege from all, give to each family its inalienable natural right to a sufficient portion of the soil for self-support and hope will be born anew in the hearts of the great plain people, who today look with distrust and fear to the coming of the morrow.

"Land reform is the greatest of all anti-slavery measures. Abolish slavery tomorrow, and the land monopoly would pave the way for its reestablishment. But abolish land monopoly, make every American citizen owner of a farm adequate to his necessity and there will be no room for the return of slavery."—Gerrett Smith, in 1856.

CHAPTER X.

A HOLY THING.

"In every country the nation is in the cottage, and if the light of your legislation does not shine in there your statesmanship is a failure and your system is a mistake."—Cannon Farrar.

"To deprive others of their right to the use of the earth is to commit a crime only inferior in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties."—Herbert Spencer.

Some one has recently made a calculation which shows that if each family possessed a sufficient portion of the earth's surface for self support, and no more, that the present population of the United States could be amply provided for east of the Alleghany ridge. This would no doubt be ample, for if cultivated to the extreme limit the land of this nation is capable of supporting the combined millions of the world. Land has been monopolized by the few. The natural right of man has been denied and his birthright stolen. And it has come about in this country by an ignor-

ant and foolish attachment on the part of the people to "precedent" and the outworn legal forms of the past.

"No man made the land; it is the original inheritance of the original species."—John Stuart Mill.

"The original deeds were written with the sword rather than with the pen."—Herbert Spencer.

In Chapter V it has been shown that our land titles proceed direct from the feudalistic assumptions of "the middle ages." Educated men have always known that these forms were false, that for them there was no ground in truth.

"There is no foundation in nature, or in natural law, why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land."—Sir William Blackstone.

But the great mass of the people have hugged to their bosoms this fatal viper which the constructors of our consti-

tution allowed to live. And they knew it to be a viper, at least the wiser ones among them did. This was their greatest mistake. They allowed slavery to live, and with it many things that destroyed the natural right of man; for to concede to "all men" their rights destroyed this relic of barbarism. They thus accepted the results of feudalism by perpetuating its laws and in this manner laid the foundation for the loss by their descendants of the self same rights for which they declared their independence. Thomas Jefferson the wisest man among them, who confessed that he "dreamt of freedom in a slave's embrace," recognized the matter of our contention clearly enough and in a letter to a friend written during the revolution writes thus:

"When the war is over and our freedom won, the people must make a new declaration; they must declare the rights of man, the individual, sacred above all craft in priesthood or government; they must at one blow put an end to the tricking of English law which, garnered up in the channels of ages, binds the heart and will with lies. They must perpetuate republican truth by making the homestead of every man a holy thing which no law can touch, no juggler can wrest from his wife and children. Until this is done the revolution will have been fought in vain."

So far, then, the revolution of the past has been in vain. For this natural right, however, humanity must continue to struggle 'till freedom is fully won.

"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty,
Shines that high light whereby the world
is saved,
And, though thou slay us we will trust
in thee."

—John Hay, Pres. Lincoln's Private Secretary.

Mr. Henry George recognizing the dependence of man upon the soil proposes to secure to all their natural rights by preventing all from using the ground unless "the full rental value" of the same is paid to the community for its use. Evidently he is thinking only of the people who do not cultivate, who do not wish to; of those who from one cause or

another will not work the soil, for these are the people chiefly benefited by this arrangement. And these proposed benefits are to come from the denial of man's greatest right, a right which comes from the Creator and not from any "mere fiction" of would-be robbers. That "the single tax," as at present advocated, denies this natural right is sufficient condemnation, for if one man has no right to exact rent from his brother neither have two, nor a hundred, nor a million. But that the matter may be plain to all it should be seen by any one that by means of the single tax it would always be possible for wealth to dispossess poverty in the possession of land. The wealthy man desiring from any cause the land of his poorer neighbor would always be able to offer more rent to "the community" for its use than the other. The community interested only in the amount of tribute to be obtained from land would decree that "the full rental value" must be paid. This establishes "rack rent" and places the inalienable right of man at the mercy of wealth. We have already had enough of this, let us try something else. Let us "perpetuate republican truth, by making the homestead of every man a holy thing which no law—or tax—can touch, no juggler can wrest from his wife and children." Let the "single taxers" exempt a moderate homestead from the operation of their scheme and it may then possibly become a reform. Until then it is only another plan for the robbery of labor—by "the community." "He who would be no slave must consent to have no slave." Secure to every man his natural right to apply labor to land without the payment of tribute to any man or "community," and all will be well. If men do not wish to apply labor to land they cannot then tax those who do. Land used for public or business purposes, involving the public, may properly enough be taxed by the public. Two "rights" here plainly appear: the

individual right of man and the public right of society. Let us freely admit them both, adopt as our maxim: PUBLIC THINGS TO THE PUBLIC; PRIVATE AFFAIRS TO THE INDIVIDUAL, and press forward to their unqualified endorsement in statute law.

"I would not only see homes free from attachment for debt, but free from taxation also.—Robert G. Ingersoll,

Let us render unto Caesar the things that be Caesar's, but unto the divinity that sits enshrined within the soul of man let us render its due meed and everlasting right. God's only temple is the human mind. It must pay no tribute.

The following constitutional amendment is offered as a means of securing both these rights. Any state can adopt it, and enforce its provisions. Properly it is a matter for the state and not the national government to consider.

Section 1.—Real estate, or land and all usual improvements, to the value of a sum not to exceed two thousand five hundred dollars (\$2500) held, used and occupied in good faith as a homestead by any usual and private family the head of which family shall be a citizen of the United States and the State of Washington, is hereby forever exempted from all taxation of every kind and character in this State. Provided, that all lands and natural opportunities used or needed for public use or business, as certain limited and restricted areas in towns and cities, all mines, forests, waterfalls, or other natural opportunities not available for cultivation or as dwelling places be and the same are hereby expressly exempted from the provisions of this article.

Section 2.—The right of every family described in Section One of this article to the exclusive possession of a homestead, held, used and occupied as described in said Section One and valued at a sum not exceeding two thousand five hundred dollars (\$2500) shall not be abridged or denied by reason of any contract, agreement, mortgage or other instrument or promise whatsoever verbal or written made or executed by the possessors of said homestead after this article shall have been adopted in proper form by the people of this State.

Section 3.—The legislature shall have power to enact all laws necessary to carry into effect the due intent and meaning of the provisions of this article.

The passage of this amendment would restore to the people of a state the birth-

right of which man has been defrauded. This is the cause of that frightful poverty which makes a torture-house of the world. This is that impious shame which a decaying Christianity makes no effort to remove. Remove this damning blot and man will be free. And scholars have always known of its existence.

"Whilst another man has no land my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated."—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

In the first century of the Christian era the philosopher Seneca was the instructor of the youthful Nero. Afterward this devil's whelp had the good man murdered. But Seneca knew the cause of the misery of man, for he wrote as follows:

"While nature lay in common and all the benefits promiscuously enjoyed what could be happier than the state of mankind, when people lived without avarice or envy. What could be richer than when there was not a poor man to be found in the world. So soon as this impartial bounty of Providence came to be restrained by covetousness, so soon as individuals appropriated that to themselves which was intended for all, then did poverty creep into the world."

The enactment into law of the provisions of this amendment will restore to man this blessing of God. And it will do it gradually and without injustice to any. And, further, it will prevent that fatal clash of the classes otherwise inevitable. It will prevent it because it will restore that of which men are now defrauded. It is a simple act of justice.

"But since we live in an epoch of change, and, too, probably, of revolution, and thoughts, which are not to be put aside are in the minds of all men capable of thought, I am obliged to affirm the one principle which can, and in the end will, close all epochs of revolution—that each man shall possess the ground he can use, and no more."—John Ruskin.

The Hebrew scriptures are full of the denunciations of God against those who take the land of the poor. How is it that men who affect to be bound by this law utterly repudiate it? Moses prevented the loss of the homestead and secured under the severest penalties sufficient land for self-support to every Hebrew family. What was wrong then is

wrong now. Whatever brought down the judgment of God then, will do it today. God does not always pay every Saturday night. But he pays. He never forgets. From this there is no escape. In nature and under natural law we see that no sin is ever forgiven. If I place my hand in the fire it will be burned without regard to my faith. Garfield died though the whole world was in prayer for him. No natural law was ever broken without consequent suffering. "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God." That is, no penalty for the breaking of God's law, i. e. Nature's law. But there is, and it will be visited upon the head of the guilty.

The truth is "all men" have a right to use land. Land belongs, absolutely, to no man. While in possession of the worker it is his—to use and occupy. He holds from nature, from God; by being a man, and because of his needs. This is his title and, it comes from no man or community. He has a right to land just as he has a right to air. If he does not use air he has no claim upon it. And his right to either air or land only comes by its exercise. The right in either case is latent. It only becomes active and has an actual existence by use. All this has been stated time and again. Blackstone's argument showing occupation and use to be the sole natural—the only honest—title has never been answered. It never can be. Carlyle, one of the deepest thinkers of modern times, reiterates the same.

Men talk of selling land! Who could or can sell it to us? The notion of selling for certain bits of metal the land of the World Creator is a ridiculous impossibility. Properly speaking, the land belongs to these two—to the Almighty God and to His children of men that have worked well on it, or that shall ever work well on it.—Thomas Carlyle.

Jefferson held to the same:

The earth belongs in usufruct to the living; the dead have no right or power over it.—Thomas Jefferson.

That is, the fruits of the use of land belong to living men who bring them

forth and living men are entitled to hold land or to have "a claim" upon it while they live. This is the testimony of all disinterested thinkers. Those who hold to the contrary, whether blindly or not, do so because they would conserve some great interest or special privilege of the few.

The title to farm homes under the proposed amendment would be substantially that now given to "claim holders" by the U. S. homestead law, with this exception that instead of lasting for only five years it would endure for life. As in the homestead law, the family is made the possessor and so long as any portion of the family remained title would remain. The claim, or right of possession, could be sold by giving possession just as men now sell claims. Every man who has "taken up" U. S. land knows that there is no better title in the world. Every facility should be given for transactions of this character and as soon as a man had, in this way, "sold" his homestead his title to another—if he could get it—should be as good as ever. It may be claimed that in this way some man might make a business of taking up and improving homesteads for sale and that he would be able, possibly, to make gain. Very good; if so it is well, for he would in this way add to the wealth of the world and deserves all he will ever get by this hard labor.

The principal theoretical opposers of this amendment will be found among the "single taxers." Has it escaped their attention that they all take the mental attitude of tax receivers and not of tax payers? No working farmer who himself ploughs his own field and digs his own garden—and he is the only man who has natural title to the land—desires to pay rent to our theorizing, city dwelling, would-be taxpayer. And why should he? He owes him nothing and the taxpayer has no claim upon him except the desire, common to many, to reap where he has not sown and to take up

where he has not laid down. Upon land used for public purposes the public has a claim, but the homestead, the means of life to the families of the poor, is a holy thing which must be preserved inviolate from would-be taxers as well as would-be mortgagees. Another consideration ought to have weight with these people: If a family only hold enough land for self-support, and no more, then whatever is paid in taxation must be subtracted from that which is needed for self-support.

This method is in use in Egypt and India. It makes fellahin and ryots, the poorest and most degraded laborers in the world. God pity the man who would aid in creating such. But by such

as these are the fields of India and Egypt tilled. These are the slaves of taxation; taxation, too, imposed upon the laborer by those who in this way seek to rob him of that which he, and he alone, has created.

"Single taxers" talk of land! It is not land they want but the fruits of labor; of the labor of other men.

It is agreed that only he who occupies and uses land has title from Nature—from the Owner. One can himself occupy and properly use, by means of his own labor, but a very small portion of the earth's surface. To him who would tax the man thus engaged let me quote the words of Charles Reade: "Put yourself in his place."

CHAPTER XI.

A "RESUME"—LOOKING FORWARD.

"I honor the man or woman who is willing to sink
Half their present repute for the freedom to think.
And when they have thought, be their cause strong or weak,
Will risk other half for the freedom to speak—
Caring naught for what vengeance the mob has in store,
Let that mob be the upper ten thousand or lower."
—Lowell.

In a state of nature all men have a right to a sufficient portion of the earth's surface for self-support. This is brought clearly to mind in thinking of Robinson Crusoe and the life he led upon the lonely island in the midst of the sea. His right to land there was, at first, no one to dispute. If another shipwrecked sailor had been cast upon the island the second comer's right would have been as good as that of Crusoe.

Of course he would have no right to anything that Robinson had made, nor would he have any right to interfere with the cabin, the field or the crops of the first comer. So long as the first man upon the island took no more of what kind nature had provided for his use than was needed to supply his natural wants the second could have no right to interfere with him or his doings. The third man, if he came, would have the same, that is, equal, right with the others and this would continue with others as they came until the capacity of the island to support life was exhausted. The rights which these people would thus have to the soil are the natural rights which nature—or the Creator—has given to all men. These are the rights enjoyed by all men, which

in all the history of the world have been enjoyed by all, up to the time when some conqueror or murderer has subdued and enslaved men and by means of military power taken to himself the right to sell or otherwise dispose of their right to a support from the soil. He "granted" to some of his followers certain districts and sold to others other portions. The land of the country thus conquered or taken by force is said to belong to the conqueror "by the grace of God." All later buyers and sellers of land trace their paper titles back to him. In Chapter V, under the title, "Evolution of a Great Crime," is shown the manner in which this has been done. Now, but for this theft, but for this great crime, all men would this day enjoy the right to apply their labor to unoccupied land as in the case of Robinson Crusoe and his supposed companions. In the event of the increase of population upon Crusoe's island and the necessity arising of the construction of a wharf and the building of a town which would be of use to all, then public ownership would begin. The easiest and best way to assert this ownership and secure its advantages is by means of taxation for the benefit of all. The power to tax is an assertion of ownership or sovereignty; this lies at the base of all taxation. But the right to tax the small homestead is lacking, for the reason that ownership of the property resides only in the Creator and, temporarily, in the occupier and user and not in the people who desire to tax the workers. In all so-called civilized governments the property of the cities, of the great corporations, mines, etc., etc., is so far in excess of the small amount which the proposed amendment would exempt from taxation that it would at first cut but little figure in the general result. Afterward, as the amount exempted increased the property of the people subject to taxation would also increase as the result of general prosperity.

I have said that men are reduced to slavery by this withdrawal of their right to the soil. Let us see, Robinson Crusoe one day discovered a poor savage upon "his island," he having escaped I believe, from his cannibal masters who had made "a call" at the island. Crusoe named this man Friday, because he discovered him upon that day. He took him as a slave. But he could have secured all his services—and in fact a slave—by saying to him: "Friday you are as free to come and go and do as you please as I am, but this island with all its belongings is mine, you must not taste nor touch without making a bargain with me."

Immediately, Friday's necessities would have compelled him to come to an understanding with "the owner of the island." He would not wish to jump into the sea, and to stand, even, upon Robinson's land would give him power over him. To supply himself with food he must make terms and take whatever Robinson is willing to allow. And this is the condition in which poor people find themselves today. If they buy a piece of land they are so imposed upon by taxation, by the arts of the money lords, and the various schemes of the wealthy to indirectly tax them that they are little better off. Often the man who holds a mortgage on a farm is the only person who receives any profit from the arduous labors of the farmer and his overworked family.

Now, if the people of this country are ever to escape the power of these self-imposed task-masters it can only come about by a radical change in taxation. We must come back to first principles and throw overboard the great load of injustice which has been heaped upon the producer of values. Having no just title past holders of land could convey none. Still, to now declare occupation and use as the sole title to land would unquestionably work great hardship and grievous wrong upon many innocent

sufferers. This is not to be thought of for an instant. The well known rule of law is here pertinent: "He who cries out against wrong must do no wrong." So, he who would restore the natural right of men to the soil must take great care that no injustice arises from the working out of his plan. It must be gradual in its workings. It must take time. Here trouble may begin, for people will demand sudden relief which this amendment will not give. All the enormous misery, all the awful load of debt, all the great injustice which the people now suffer as a consequence of our late war, might have been averted if the people had been willing to accept the gradual manumission of the slaves by purchase, as proposed by Abraham Lincoln. But they were not. Previous to 1860 we as a people thought our country too far advanced to ever again engage in a bloody war. But we were mistaken. How will it be in the future? Have our people the virtue, the manhood and the patience necessary to free themselves from the thickening difficulties of the present? To do this will require all these qualities.

The constitutional exemption proposed is intended gradually and slowly to enable willing workers to avail themselves of opportunities that may be offered, by means of which they may secure possession of land which under its provisions cannot be taken from them. Then, the natural right of Robinson Crusoe to land would be within the reach of all able to obtain possession of a sufficient portion of the earth's surface. The moment it became their's a support would be assured and the fear of coming want which now like a strong man armed oppresses the nightly dreams of men would vanish in the clear pure air of God's truth—THE RIGHT OF ALL WHO LABOR TO ENJOY THE FRUIT OF LABOR.

This is the object of the proposed legislation and the sum of \$2,500 is here fixed as probably sufficient to cover suf-

ficient land for self support. This is why this whole matter is one for the different states to settle. In other states a larger or a smaller amount would be named. The adoption of this amendment would interfere with no man's title to land. It would invalidate no present mortgage or lease, but would prevent future mortgaging of homesteads, "held, used and occupied as a home by a usual and private family." And the change would be brought about so gradually that no evil results could accrue to even land monopolists. Indeed, it would at once increase the demand for land suitable for small homesteads and thus increase sales. In a very few years the holders of these free homes having this great advantage would be able to largely increase their taxable property not covered by the exemption, so that the taxable property of the state would greatly increase in the aggregate as a result of exempting a part.

At present, it will be difficult for poor men to buy even a small portion of land, but it is probable that our money lords will lighten the burden now resting upon the people from the fact that the workers are now to a great degree unprofitable to them as well as to themselves. With "better times" men will be able to begin to buy small homesteads—which should be small—and if protected by the amendment the next revulsion, which is sure to come, would not leave them stranded as at present. Men of large experience as real estate agents, or sellers of land, tell me that no single act of the state law making power would so stimulate the sale of farm and suburban property as the passage of the proposed amendment.

The United States census for 1890 credits us with a population of something more than sixty millions of people and sixty billions worth of property. In round numbers this is an average of \$1,000 to each inhabitant, or \$5,000 to each family of five. Everybody knows

that this is unequally divided. Leaving in present assessed valuations. In the out the wealth of a few thousands of country and among the farmers the difference would be somewhat greater. corporations and people, who are excessively wealthy, and the rest would Take the state of Washington over, however, but a sorry figure when divided ever, and the amount exempted at first among so many. Just what it would be could not exceed ten per cent on total perhaps no one could very accurately assessed valuation. Then, whoever possessed a little home, and lived in or on tell. But it would be a very small sum. it, would be exempted and protected In the quiet little rural town in which against any possible chance of its loss. I reside we have about two thousand people, and before the late great depression our assessed valuation was No one else could take advantage of the provisions of the amendment. about \$2,000,000. It will be seen from this that our average wealth is the same as that given for the United States, or \$1,000 per head. I find, however, that

ten persons and corporations were credited with paying taxes on \$1,200,000 of this amount. This, too, is quite likely an approximation to national conditions. By consultation with our city authorities I find that of our probable 400 families only about one-third own and live on their own properties. Taking out ten residences the assessed valuation of the rest would not exceed \$500 each. The amount exempted from taxation by the proposed legislation would thus be something like the following:

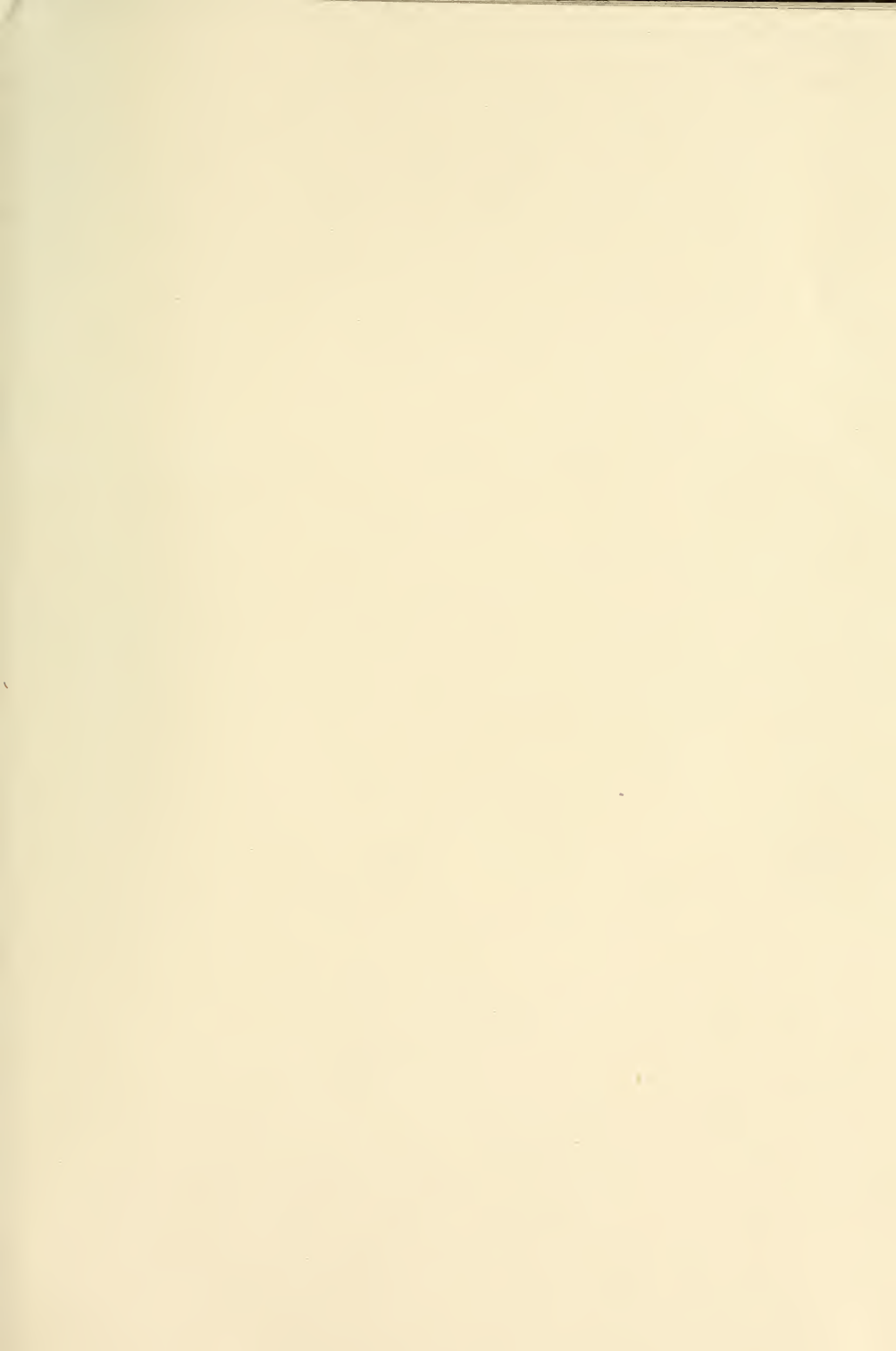
10 families, \$2,500 each.....	\$25,000
134 families, \$500 each.....	67,000
Total.....	\$92,000

Take this amount, or \$100,000, from the total of \$2,000,000 and we have a reduction of the taxable property of the town of only five per cent. In the larger cities but little change would be made.

Although the limits assigned have been overpassed I am loth to close. The subject is of so great importance and its treatment at my hands has been so imperfect, so many reasons remain to be urged and so much that it now seems should have been said has failed of admission, that I sincerely hope that my readers will not judge of the strength of my case by the paucity of my arguments. I shall be abundantly satisfied, however, if I have said anything which shall induce my readers to study the questions here presented for themselves. In doing this let them refuse to be bound by the words of great men, depending rather, upon "that natural and instinctive apprehension of justice which finds universal lodgement in the heart of man," for I know full well that adherence to the natural and inalienable rights of man will provide, and insure, HOMES FOR THE HOMELESS.

THE END.

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